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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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3 October 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

COCOM TRADE RESTRICTIONS TO PREVENT BLOC ECONOMIC GROWTH

Erfurt DAS VOLK in German 8 Aug 84 p 3

[Article by P. Sterzing: "Blackmail in East-West Trade; The 'Red List' of COCOM"]

[Text] To say it right from the start: The same reason is behind the delay in the delivery of the "Data-Systems" computer that is leading to economic disadvantages, the cancelled order from Sofia, and the refusal to deliver computer-controlled machine tools to the USSR as agreed. It is the attempt by the U.S. crusade-policy to exclude the CEMA countries from the international division of labor.

Krupp chairman Berthold Beitz recently proved that this is not happening without opposition and that there is considerable controversy in the Western countries in this matter. He analyzed the long-term economic and political interests in the East and West. His conclusions are truly a slap in the face for the Reagan course, for he believes that economic reason will prevail in the long term. It is precisely in trade between East and West where Beitz sees an outstanding example of how the international division of labor advances the income and welfare of all of the countries involved in this commerce.

The criticism of leading U.S. economic circles of the Reagan embargo policy is mainly directed against the official governmental restrictions on export opportunities and their subordination entirely to the interests of the military-industrial complex.

The dissatisfaction of Washington's allies comes mainly from the practice of patronizing that is occurring under the Reagan Administration. When, in the dispute over the natural gas-pipeline-deal between the EEC countries and the USSR, the United States resorted to rude embargo measures --forbidding General Electric to produce turbines for this pipeline, for example--the man in the White House even tried to extend the prohibition to West European firms. Just as though the U.S. laws were suddenly in effect worldwide. It was fully in this sense that at the time the U.S. ambassador to France threatened the nationalized French business enterprise Alsthom-Atlantique with financial sanctions in the event that it did not follow Reagan's embargo order.

Meanwhile, this impudence has become routine. Thus the U.S. Department of Commerce recently imposed a \$40,000 fine against the Munich firm Carl F. Baasel Lasertechnik and deprived it of the export licenses for the export of U.S. computers, because this firm maintains business relations with socialist countries.

The export control law that was made tighter in March of this year thereby serves as a basis for Washington to pursue the legal annexation of the U.S. partner firms. In this regard, however, the main instrument is the "Coordinating Committee for East-West Trade" (COCOM) that is headquartered in Paris and to which all NATO countries (except Iceland and Spain) and Japan belong. Under the powerful pressure exerted by Washington--finally made clear at the COCOM meeting in early July--the 15 committee members were obligated, starting immediately, to add modern equipment for central telephone offices, computer systems and programs to the list of forbidden exports ("Red Lists").

That means that the regulations for technology commerce are thereby made substantially tighter, and U.S. President Reagan has even instructed the intelligence services to undertake general control of U.S. exports. What the Pentagon thereby declares as "strategically important goods" and what ends up on the embargo lists are robots used in industry and commerce, robots such as, for example, the Honeywell-Bull computer of the Budapest department store, which is nothing other than a system to register goods but which obviously had already been classified as "strategically important" until it came to a formal protest at the COCOM authorities.

Further, the already-countless regulations for industrial robots, scientific equipment and medical apparatus as well as machine and raw materials for the production of semiconductors and microprocessors are multiplying. As to their classification as "strategically important goods" by the U.S. Defense Department with validity for adoption by COCOM as well, it is hardly their "actual strategic" value that is involved. In the field of weapons technology, the USSR and the other socialist countries have long since demonstrated their ability to produce the systems needed for the defense of socialism by themselves!

What is actually involved is the hindering of even more rapid economic growth in the CEMA countries. Otherwise, in view of the continuing crisis in the Western economy, the contrast would be even substantially more convincing in favor of the socialist countries. That is the reason, then, for the rapid applying of the brakes for exports into the "realm of evil," as Ronald Reagan is sometimes heard to say in all seriousness. Every means to harm socialism, to put obstacles in its path, is acceptable to the U.S. Government. Export-oriented U.S. Firms are muzzled, the condition of extraterritoriality is forced upon the partners of the United States, and third countries--hence neutral countries as well--must put up with U.S. monitoring so that COCOM principles will be valid everywhere.

What has thereby been concealed again and again up to now--with a view both to the allies of the United States and to neutral countries--is now being felt by them more and more clearly: embargo and sanctions are being sought by the United States more and more strongly, especially in those areas where they wish to neutralize competitors in commerce as well as in the development of technologies, as shown by the example mentioned at the outset, where there is no doubt that the West Europeans have an advantage that cannot be ignored.

9746  
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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

AMERICAN POLICIES DECRIED

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 18 Aug 84 p 1

[Article: "Imperialism's Dangerous Game"]

[Text] Today we realize more than ever Lenin's genius in foreseeing the nature of imperialism. Lenin considered the tendency toward force, superiority and the division of the world according to power to be the most characteristic features of imperialism. In the past, American politicians and ideologists were fond of using the term "Pax America," peace American style. It was especially popular during the years of the cold war, when American imperialism had hopes that it would be able to bring about a world order in which the United States would be a kind of world policeman overseeing the other countries.

Now this term is going out of style. This is mainly because American imperialism has not been successful in stopping the growth and gathering strength of socialism in the world or in preventing the colonial system from falling apart. The present government of the United States has armed itself with the concept of "peace through strength." In his radio and television speeches, President Ronald Reagan has been developing and expanding this thought. In other words, the governing circles of the United States are continuing to implement their aggressive policies, the only difference being that they are hiding them behind words about preserving peace. But however President Reagan juggles words about peace, he cannot conceal his aggressive policy of force.

The idea of "peace through strength" is being forced on the American people. In doing this, the current leadership of the United States is pursuing certain goals that are intended to intensify among the populace of the United States chauvinistic feelings which are elaborated in the spirit of militarism and a drive for hegemony, and thus to justify expansionistic policies, the arms race and international terrorism.

Once before, a war-mongering lunatic tried to deceive with his words about peace--Adolf Hitler. The American President Ronald Reagan now similarly tries to cover up his actual preparations for war with words of peace. Just like Hitler's Nazi clique, Reagan's leadership clan represents the most

aggressive section of monopolistic capitalism. In both cases there is and has been a meeting of interests by the expansion-oriented weapons manufacturers, the generals and the military-political circles against the interests of all peoples. These most aggressive forces depend and have depended upon military might as necessary to support and expand their status as overlords. Hitler's Germany and Reagan's United States also have in common a blind anticomunism. Reagan uses it to justify the use of weapons of mass destruction to "protect good" and to "exterminate evil." The Nazis tried the same thing when they declared "Bolsheviks, Jews and the Slavic peoples" to be "subhumans" and themselves the "master race."

There have been more than enough crusades in history. Without exception, they were all invasions of robbery and conquest, no matter what kind of attire or religious robes they were veiled in. The last crusade of German imperialism under Hitler's leadership ended, in accordance with the laws of history, on the rubbish heap. Blind anticomunism was not able to judge the strength of the other side, the strength of the Soviet people and their army, which smashed the aggressor. Today the Reagan government is the shock troops of world imperialism. This same blind anticomunism which prevents them from realistically evaluating the balance of power leads them to prepare a crusade which would be more dangerous than all previous ones, since today there are nuclear weapons which can destroy life on our planet.

Washington's militaristic, adventuristic policy is causing energetic protests throughout the world. One can state that the antiwar movement has never been as broad as it is now. There is active participation in it by representatives of the most varied sections of the populace in all countries, except for the bourgeois parties, religious organizations and certain commercial circles. In an attempt to influence the public in Western countries and especially to take the edge off sharply anti-American peace actions, Washington has developed a propaganda offensive based on a two-fold scheme. It takes all possible measures to sow panic and force the public to believe in the inevitability of war and the hopelessness of the struggle against the war-mongering danger. At the same time, it spreads the opinion that the danger of war is coming from the Soviet Union while the United States takes on the role of protecting the world and therefore has to increase its military potential.

The dishonorable plans of the Reagan administration also can be seen in information from American sources, according to which "it is very important for the government during the election campaign to place the blame for lack of success in negotiations on the Soviet Union." The soap bubble of American policy on their "desire to negotiate" with the Soviet Union has burst. It is obvious to every thinking person that the White House has played and is continuing to play a false game. Evidence of this is the failed attempts of political representatives in Washington to color their black intentions in rosy hues. They make it impossible to carry out any kind of negotiations with the Soviet Union on arms limitations and then try to blame the Soviet Union. The U.S. Government has done everything it can to hinder negotiations on agreements to prevent the militarization of space.

Everything that they say about this is demagogic camouflage and only one word is true: force. And, unfortunately, this is the most dangerous word in the entire philosophy and foreign policy activities of the United States.

Brute force and aggressive anticomunism are the basis of American foreign policy. Its goal is not peace, but turning back the wheel of history by force. The speeches by important representatives of the United States are oriented toward this in the hopes that they will at least win over through chauvinism the noted American bourgeoisie, who not long ago applauded Reagan for his criminal attack on Grenada.

To infect the public with nationalism and chauvinism is a dangerous policy which could boomerang on the American government. President Reagan found this out when he thought that his thoroughly cynical "joke" about deciding to eliminate the Soviet Union, that "in 5 minutes we start bombing," would be accepted by the American public with the same cheering as that which greeted the victory of the American athletes at the recently ended Olympic Games in Los Angeles.

But the Americans were frozen with fear, except for the chauvinist bourgeoisie, since you do not joke about such matters. In the final analysis, the American public, to say nothing of the public throughout the rest of the world, was shocked that Reagan could even think of such a "joke." It is evidence that he occupies himself with such thoughts and thus what is on his mind is said. In this nuclear era, even to talk about bombing is terrifying. The public in the West is also acquainted with the views of scientists, some of whom go hand in hand with Reagan. The physicist Teller, although he has tendencies toward reducing fears of the effects of nuclear weapons, admits that there would be millions of casualties in a nuclear war. Teller does not say that the victims will not include Americans...

The worst thing about Reagan's "slip of the tongue" is that American policy is carried out in the spirit of those words. The United States constantly strives to achieve military superiority over the Soviet Union, accelerates the arms race, and tries to acquire a military potential which would enable it to carry out a nuclear war, survive it and even win it. Another significant feature of Washington's imperialistic policies is that it does not recognize equal rights among partners, continually raises the level of record military budgets, and introduces new weapons systems, not only on earth but even in space.

The Soviet position is that improvement in the situation now calls for deeds and not words. The general secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, and chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Konstantin Chernenko, spoke specifically about these actions and also pointed out steps which could not only improve mutual understanding, but also begin a real turnaround in Soviet-American relations and the entire international situation. In his reply to the noted Irish public official Sean MacBride, he again emphasized, "As far as we are concerned, we have repeatedly declared that we would like to have good relations with the United States.

However, both sides must show good will in this matter. I presume that you have reached the correct conclusion from your extensive experience in life and politics that the essential, truly firm basis for any negotiations between the USSR and the United States must be sincere, good intentions on both sides and the corresponding actions."

The wise and constructive Soviet proposals for cooperation in averting the danger of nuclear war cannot be erased, since they exist and the peoples of the world know about them despite the propaganda of American imperialism which strives to keep them secret. However, more and more distorted and lying news and information about true socialism are published. Imperialism, in the ideological and political war that it has declared against the socialist countries, tried to paralyze the revolutionary and national liberation forces, isolate them from world socialism and finally eliminate them. The class enemy understands that the fate of progress and peace is joined with true socialism and that the process of the decay of bourgeois society is dependent on the development and intensification of revolutionary changes in the world. These revolutionary changes in the world cannot be prevented; they are determined by the laws of history since they spring from the desires of peoples who wish to live freely and independently. In vain does imperialism consider nuclear war; if they unleash it, they will destroy themselves as well.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL PROGRESS

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 39 No 8, Aug 84 (signed to press 10 Jul 84)  
pp 759-761

[Review by G. Tichter of book "Parteiorganisation und wissenschaftlich-technischer Fortschritt" [Party Organization and Scientific-Technical Progress]  
Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1984]

[Text] A new stage in the implementation of the economic strategy issued by the 10th party congress has begun. Coping with it successfully, as Comrade Erich Honecker explained at the Berlin Bezirk delegates conference,<sup>1</sup> calls for far-reaching inferences to be in step with our times in science and technology and rapidly pick up new accomplishments and use them extensively. Economic growth more and more depends on that because, in the final analysis, scientific-technical progress controls the speed and scope in boosting labor productivity and intensifying production. "Aiming our country's intellectual and material potential everywhere consistently at achieving higher efficiency through new technologies and new products and organizing a steadily ongoing upgrading process for our output"<sup>2</sup> also places new demands on the political leadership activity of the party organizations and the work of each and every communist in the combines and enterprises. A complete personal dedication, sound knowledge and tried and tested experiences are imperative for meeting the high expectations.

The book "Parteiorganisation und wissenschaftlich-technischer Fortschritt" offers valuable aid to the party worker in coping with the party work requirements in combines resulting from the new criteria and tasks in science and technology.

It is characteristic of the authors' practically relevant approach that the basic issues of scientific-technical progress are analyzed in detail and important inferences are drawn from that for further perfecting party work--while this theoretic treatise always consults the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism. In an instructive fashion it is being proven how the economic and social efficacy of scientific-technical progress can be further enhanced, in accordance with requirements, when these processes are conducted with political prudence by the party organizations in the combines and all scientific-technical measures are prepared and implemented with the working people together.

In many ways the examples of many combines confirm our own experiences in politically managing scientific-technical work and reinforce our own considerations. We fully agree with the statement that a scientific-technical lead greatly depends on correct objectives, on resolute and well-timed decisions about the tasks on which capacities are to be concentrated. Of fundamental importance to achieve efficient results rapidly is selecting the most favorable of various options and efficiently placing our potential on it. Also, resolutely seeing to it by means of party work that the potential is not allowed to get fragmented, which would lead to none but obsolete results, is all the more important lest means are wasted, the chance for real top achievements is blocked, and those taking part in this initiative find themselves frustrated.<sup>3</sup>

To reduce unacceptable performance and level disparities, we must more resolutely still analyze the good experiences gained in fashioning a creative research atmosphere. The authors demonstrate that the propensity for high achievements is encouraged and a favorable productive work climate is nurtured especially by ambitious target and task requirements, a proper conduct of socialist competition in the production preparation sectors, and an effective application of the socialist performance principle in scientific-technical work. The examples the book presents furnish no complete recipes, of course, but lend mighty impulses to finding solutions under any given specific conditions.

Of great importance in the struggle for scientific-technical top achievements is the orientation to further enhancing party influence in R&D. Having brought it about, e.g., that in the Fuerstenwalde parent enterprise of the VEB tire combine more than 20 percent of the working people in R&D are party members, we have a fine starting position for further strengthening, mainly qualitatively, the party organizations' fighting strength in these sectors.

To use all opportunities for accelerating and economically utilizing scientific-technical progress, party work must pay more attention to spreading the innovator movement in socialist competition, to the new factors and requirements in innovator activity, and to encouraging the scientific-technical creativity of youth. It is therefore of benefit that the present book devotes a whole section to that movement--e.g. to the inventors contest and the contest of the youth research collectives initiated by JUNGE WELT and the GDR Invention and Patent Office. Entrusting youth research collectives with tasks meant to lead to original solutions and international top achievements is, in view of the high educational level and the will to perform by the young people, a way that promises great economic success and furthers the creative ambition of the young people to show their mettle. Experiences we have had in our combine--e.g. in using robot technology--induce us to carry on more resolutely still this manner of promoting capable young cadres.<sup>4</sup>

Our work also is stimulated by the ideas in the book about developing socialist communal efforts among researchers, designers, technologists, economists and workers directly involved in production. From my practical experience I should like to endorse emphatically the demand raised to draw the workers into preparing innovator processes, starting even with the search for ideas (cf. p 94). That is as important for efficiently solving scientific-technical problems as it is the natural thing to do for their effective realization through production.

Innovators involved from the outset can put in their own experiences and insights and grow themselves while involved in solving the task. Altogether it cannot strongly enough be emphasized that socialist communal efforts under political party organization leadership deserve the greatest attention.

The socioeconomic questions relating to scientific-technical progress that are presented also are important for party work and management activity. They are being dealt with while issue is taken with bourgeois conceptions on the role of science and technology in public life. They supply effective handles for the party organizations' political-ideological work and concrete suggestions for management activity. How does our socialist society have to shape material working conditions when industrial robot technology is used? What demands arise from that for the education and training of the working people? How can scientific-technical measures gain manpower for solving new tasks? Discussions of such sets of questions are likely to be of great interest to party workers. They, after all, are daily confronted with having to point out ways in party work for how under specific conditions in any given combine and in each specific case science and technology are to be made to prevail on behalf of the working people. Our experiences confirm that among the priorities of the party organizations' political work is to have the working people accommodate long-range to changes in working conditions and new educational and training requirements, prepare these processes together with them, and bring them to realization in conformity with social and personal interests.

Providing important and effective party work methods in the political management of scientific-technical progress deserves the attention of each party worker in the economy. The authors concentrate here on the tasks and working method of the science and technology commissions in the party executives and of the party secretaries' councils in the combines. The book contains a number of new and generalized experiences the use of which can help further enhance party work.

Especially because of the many well absorbed practical experiences in the book, it can be a valuable aid to party work. It can advance further the rate of increasing labor productivity by implementing the new demands through an economic utilization of the latest scientific-technical data and the use of the latest technologies, as expressed also in the joint directive from the SED Central Committee, the GDR Council of Ministers, and the FDGB National Executive Committee with regard to elaborating the 1985 national economic plan.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. Erich Honecker, "Strength of Socialism--Decisive Pledge in the Struggle for Peace," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 13 February 1984, p 3.
2. Comrade Kurt Hager, "Aus dem Bericht des Politbüros an die 8. Tagung des ZK der SED" [From the Politburo Report to the Eighth Session of the SED Central Committee] Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1984, pp 30-31.
3. Cf. Hermann Poeschel, "Scientific-Technical Progress and Party Work," EINHEIT No 5, 1984, pp 396 ff.
4. Cf. Siegfried Kipp, "Science and Technology as a Testing Ground for Youth," Ibid., No 7, 1984, pp 613 ff.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

ROLE OF PHILOSOPHY IN SECURING PEACE

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 39 No 8, Aug 84 (signed to press 10 Jul 84)  
pp 745-747

[Symposium report by U. Schoenfelder]

[Text] The "Peace Struggle and Philosophy" is the term under which late in May the Joint Commission of Philosophers of the GDR and the USSR held its 12th session, in Neubrandenburg, on results and tasks of the Marxist-Leninist philosophy in the struggle for securing peace and against the ideology and policy of the imperialist arms buildup and confrontation strategists. The basis were the papers, presented in writing, by Manfred Buhr, member of the GDR Academy of Sciences ("Peace Struggle and Philosophy"), and by P. N. Fedoseyev, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences ("The Conception of Peaceful Coexistence Against the Danger of a Nuclear Catastrophe"). Both dealt with a broad spectrum of problems, offering the attending philosophers from both fraternal countries many suggestions for a constructive exchange of views.

The discussion concentrated on three major areas: the problems of war and peace in the class struggles of our era, the peaceful coexistence between states with differing social orders as a compelling precept for our time, and ideological, political and methodological aspects of a broad alliance between the communist movement and socially and ideologically diverse forces in the struggle for securing peace. The 2-day symposium furnished many ideas and conclusions for philosophic work in the future.

Special attention was given in the papers and the discussion to the question about the causes of wars in our era and the endangering of world peace, the exploration of the dialectics between cause and effect and of the link between politics and war, and the disclosure of the political nature of imperialist war preparations and threats of war. The dangers to peace do not, as bourgeois ideologues contend, evolve from a weapons technology that takes on a life of its own or from a presumably "everlasting" human aggressive drive. Also, the thesis current in the West, of both superpowers being equally responsible for the tense situation in the world, turns reality upside-down. Truly the sole source of danger to peace is and remains imperialism, which has not altered its aggressive nature even in the nuclear age. Under the pretext that its security interests were threatened, U.S. imperialism after 1945 and up to our days has time and time again resorted to the force of arms and counterrevolutionary

terrorism to subjugate other peoples and suffocate their striving for national independence and social progress. Korea, Vietnam, Chile, Lebanon, and Grenada were only some of the bloody arenas the papers and discussion referred to.

The war tendency, endemic to imperialism, is ongoing without pause; it constantly produces regional and global threats. The most aggressive circles, especially of U.S. imperialism, are unscrupulously gambling with a policy they themselves define as a "crusade against communism," nuclear war being regarded as a means for achieving world domination. To that end the Pentagon developed, and often announced, military doctrines in recent years that say such wars are feasible and winnable.

All the more resolutely must such a policy on inconceivable catastrophe be opposed--especially also in the field of ideology. The point that matters here--as all those who attended the session demonstrated by dint of their own research results--is to counter aggressively all the variants in the imperialist "justification" for wars, the core of which is the lie of the "threat from the East." We must more resolutely counter not only the overt mental war preparation through unbridled anticomunism and anti-Sovietism, but also that more indirect form that seeks to paralyze the peace movement's resistance capability by spreading fatalism and pessimism. Here one must explain--and this applies particularly to what the philosophers have to do--that the inevitable connection between imperialism and war must not needs lead to the conclusion that nuclear war is fateful and unavoidable. After all, that tendency is being countered by a different one: socialism's inherent identity with peace and the grown and further growing strength of the fighters for peace.

Imperialist arms buildup and war threats are facing the clenched fist of socialism today, not last in form of the Warsaw Pact, which gives peace an exceedingly strong protective shield. We are also witnessing a worldwide movement of the peace forces, unprecedented in this magnitude and breadth, willing to prevent a nuclear world conflagration.

Much was made of the idea that, there being states with differing social orders, no reasonable alternative exists to peaceful coexistence in the nuclear age. The essence of peaceful coexistence, the point was made, must be made to prevail, be defended and consolidated through the rigorous struggle of all who exert themselves for peace against imperialism's objective tendency toward war.

From there, Marxist-Leninist philosophy sets down many questions connected with the needed formation of a broad coalition of reason against war and the danger of war. The exchange of views here in particular dealt with questions such as: What are the objective and subjective principles for common efforts in the struggle for peace despite diverse political and ideological standpoints? What role is played by material-economic interests (e.g. in parts of the bourgeoisie), spiritual traditions, political insights, moral norms and convictions? To provide valid answers for all that, philosophic research must gain more accurate knowledge still about the interests, motives and contents of consciousness in the different social and political forces that oppose the confrontation course by imperialist circles and the war danger arising from it.

In tapping points of intellectual contact--as was brought out in the discussion--importance attaches, not last, to working on the humanistic traditions in the problem of war and peace from the time of classical German philosophy and of the revolutionary Russian democrats. That applies mainly also to analyzing the historic experiences in the alliance policy of the communist movement, principally from the common struggle against fascism and fascist war. More thoroughly to be explored is the dialectic between the class-bound and the universally human in the peace issue. Altogether--and this was the tenor of the conference--the Marxist-Leninist philosophers have to carry still more effectively the whole arsenal of our scientific world-outlook into the field of intellectual confrontation.

Pursuant to a fine tradition, the conference was supplemented by a number of propaganda events in various enterprises and facilities of Neubrandenburg Bezirk, where philosophers from both countries spoke about topical issues relating to the subject they had explored.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

REALISTIC PERSONS ON BOTH SIDES DESIRE PEACE

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 39 No 8, Aug 84 (signed to press 10 Jul 84)  
pp 698-705

[Article by J. Zelt, retired professor at the Institute for International Workers Movement of the Academy for Social Sciences at the SED CC: "Lessons of Two World Wars"]

[Text] Seventy years ago, on 1 August 1914, World War I broke out, and it has now been nearly 45 years for the fury of World War II to descend upon us. Recalling all that today demands our drawing our lessons from these dark chapters in the history of humanity.

Most of the citizens in our country know from their own experience neither war nor imperialism and fascism. They, after all, have grown up in socialism, in a state that directs all it does at the well-being of the people, and in a social order that is identical with peace and safety, work, prosperity and an assured future. Even so they are not spared the danger of war since the Moloch of war now threatens to devour the entire human species. At the same time, however, unprecedented opportunities have arisen for averting another world war--principally because there are the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and there exists a worldwide peace movement.

Especially to our people the two devastating genocidal world wars are a warning and an obligation to do everything so that no war ever again emanates from German soil, it having been, after all, the German monopolists and militarists who when World War I was triggered most persistently called for resorting to arms, after which fascist German imperialism unleashed World War II directly through a targeted provocation. Burning questions connect with that at this commemorative day: Whose fault were the two world wars? Why could they not be prevented? From where comes the peril of a third world war, this time a nuclear one? How can and must this threat be averted?

U.S. President Reagan recently said causes of war would long be passe if there did not happen to be socialism and the Soviet Union. A contention of equal impudence would be hard to come by. It aims at the outrageous slander, in contradiction of all facts, of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the main bulwark of peace and security in the world, on the prudent and far-reaching policy of which the hopes of peace-loving men rely, especially at the present time.

Wars have their socioeconomic roots in the exploiter system. The main source of war and war danger in our century is imperialism; its aggressive nature also gave rise to the two world wars. They were, after all, the continuation of the rapacious and extortionist policy of the most aggressive monopoly capital circles for conquering by military means export markets, spheres for capital investment, raw material resources, and exploitation, domination and influence spheres. Unmistakable signs adumbrated those wars: rivalries among the big imperialist powers, their arms race, the emergence of imperialist power groups, the flaring of local hotbeds of wars, and the denigration and ever more intense persecution of the adherents to peace.

Mankind's suffering in the two world wars was immense. World War I ultimately involved 33 states in all parts of the world with populations of circa 1.5 billion people--roughly two thirds of the world population at that time. Nearly 70 million were called to arms. More than 10 million (almost 2 million Germans among them) lost their lives in battle, 20 million were wounded and crippled, and several more million died from starvation and plagues. In World War II, 72 states with roughly 80 percent of the world population had declared war. Some 22 million square kilometers of our planet were engulfed by military operations. Some 110 million (not counting the partisans) had been mobilized by the belligerents. \$ 935 billion were spent directly on the war. That world war exacted 55 million killed and 35 million wounded. Circa 11 million people alone were murdered in fascist concentration camps and penitentiaries. The German people suffered 6.5 million dead in that war.

Immeasurable also are the losses in material goods, the tremendous destructions in towns and villages, production sites and cultural institutions. Yet all such destruction would still be incomparable to the inferno of a worldwide nuclear war unleashed by the most aggressive imperialist circles, which would risk the survival of humanity. Stopping the imperialist warmongers in time, i.e. before they can trigger a worldwide military conflict, is therefore a solemn task today for all peace-loving people in the world.

#### Characterization of the World Wars

Sentimental memoirs by bourgeois journalists still keep spreading the myth the outbreak of World War I in the mid-summer of 1914 had come like a bolt from the blue. The truth is, however, that since the turn of the century, since capitalism's transition into its imperialist phase, the world had been shaken by crises and wars, and a "big war" had been announcing itself in the tough and relentless struggle among the imperialist powers for economic and political power positions.

A fundamental inevitability of capitalism, which grew stronger under imperialist conditions and assumed a qualitatively new character, lies in the disproportions in the economic, political and military development of capitalism. This inevitability is found to produce constant changes in the power ratio among the imperialist powers and their efforts at redistributing the world by all means, including military means. World War I thus was the inevitable outcome of the political and economic contradictions exacerbating since the turn of the century.

It stemmed from the imperialist system, shook it deeply and was already an expression of the general crisis of capitalism in its highest and last stage. As the major belligerents, Wilhelminian Germany and Austro-Hungary faced England, France and Russia, later joined by Italy and the United States. World War I was an imperialist war for conquest on all sides in which all participants were concerned with repartitioning the power and influence spheres around the world. At the same time, the working people were to be deflected from the deep internal political crisis of the imperialist system, and the revolutionary movements were to be snuffed out in the bloodbath of the world war.

Yet that war was neither fatefully imposed on German imperialism by its rivals, nor do all big powers taking part in it bear the same responsibility for its being unleashed, as reactionary historians propose. Those who are mainly to be blamed for its outbreak are the then authoritative political, economic and military circles of German imperialism and militarism. Having come too late when the world was first partitioned, they were the ones who with ruthless aggressiveness sought a redistribution that would conform with their grown economic capacity. That is why they pushed the Austro-Hungarian government into war against Serbia in the July crisis of 1914 (precipitated by the assassination of the Austrian successor to the throne Archduke Francis Ferdinand and by members of a Serbian national-revolutionary secret movement at Sarajewo on 28 June 1914) and promised all their support. The most aggressive forces of the Hapsburg Monarchy, having long planned military steps against Serbia, thereby got the backing they desired for their provocative ultimatum. It made the outbreak of World War I inevitable.

While already World War I had emanated from German soil, World War II was provoked by the direct instigation of the most aggressive and chauvinist circles of the German monopoly bourgeoisie through the attack on the Gleiwitz radio station carried out by their fascist creatures, to get the desired pretext for going all-out. No attempt by imperialist historiography to blame Hitler alone or, at best, him together with his immediate entourage for precipitating that war can do away with the historic fact that the authoritative circles of the German monopoly bourgeoisie that had put Hitler in the saddle were preparing for World War II and had a big hand in unleashing it.

The outbreak of that war also was due to the antagonistic contradictions in imperialism. It initiated a new phase in the general crisis in capitalism. The main aggressor in Europe was fascist German imperialism. The war started as a collision between the bloc of fascist states led by Hitler Germany and a group of imperialist states led by France and Great Britain. Once again German imperialism gambled with the existence of the German people to achieve its plans of world domination. The anti-Sovietism of the ruling circles among the western powers that sought--in vain, it turned out--to direct the aggressive frenzy of fascist Germany at once and exclusively against the Soviet Union favored the aggressor.

In contrast to the situation prior to World War I, when capitalism dominated the whole world, World War II, however, started in a world-historically new era initiated by the Great October of 1917, when the first socialist state evolved in the world. Its peace decree for the first time in the history of mankind turned peace policy into a state doctrine, which also documented the identity of peace and socialism. The existence of the USSR, the consistent peace policy of which

forms a major factor in international relations, and the antagonism between the two opposed social systems, make the international situation very different from what it had been prior to World War I.

Because of the fascist German imperialism's extreme goals of conquest and because of the resistance struggle by the international workers movement and its allies against the thus far most aggressive coalition in world history, the war assumed elements of the antifascist liberation struggle on the part of the nations and states that had been attacked from the very start of it; they would then grow stronger while the resistance of the popular masses increased. For 2 precious years the Soviet Union was able to keep the war off the country of socialism. When Hitler fascism made its sneak attack against the USSR in June 1941 and the Soviet people rose against their occupiers in the Great Patriotic War, that completed the complicated process of turning the war against fascist Germany and its allies into a just antifascist war of liberation.

The Soviet people and its army made the decisive military contribution to crushing fascist German imperialism and Japanese militarism. They caught the mightiest blow from the fascist aggressor and bore the main burden of the war of liberation. The formations of the people's armies and partisans of Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Romania, Albania and Hungary and the members of the resistance movement and of the antifascist movement fought unselfishly against the fascists. A significant contribution to the victory over fascism and Japanese militarism also came from the peoples and armies of the United States, Great Britain, France, China and other states in the anti-Hitler coalition.

Under the leadership of Lenin's party, the Soviet people and its armed forces inflicted defeats on the enemy that decided the war and enforced in heavy and sacrificial battles before Moscow (1941/42), Stalingrad (1942-43) and Kursk (summer 1943) the war's basic reversal in favor of the anti-Hitler coalition. Their victory over fascist Germany and its allies made possible the peoples' liberation from the yoke of the aggressors and rescued world civilization. The Soviet people and its army fulfilled their patriotic and internationalist duty in honors; that is their imperishable distinction with regard to humanity.

The Soviet Union's victory established the unarguable proof all over the world for how mendacious the anti-Soviet propaganda line was that a war against the USSR could be won. It demonstrated the superiority of the socialist political and social order, its defense capacity and economy, of the political morality and internationalist cohesiveness of the multinational Soviet people, and of the strength of Soviet patriotism.

The Soviet Union also liberated our people from the deep night of fascism. It opened to it the path to social progress, peace and free development in a truly patriotic and internationalist spirit. It was a great historic chance to us. The GDR took it, under SED leadership, but in the West, reaction blocked its course.

## The Past Does Not Repeat Itself

The CPSU Central Committee issued a resolution on the "40th anniversary of the Soviet people's victory in the Great Patriotic War, 1941 to 1945." In it, the lessons are drawn from that war: "The main lesson is that a war must be fought against before it breaks out. Historic experiences teach us: Protecting the peace requires cohesive, coordinated actions by all peace forces against the aggressive, adventurist course of imperialism. The peoples' vigilance has to be heightened, the accomplishments of socialism have to be guarded and augmented."<sup>1</sup>

Imperialism's war policy was being fought against even before World War I. Yet it was impossible to prevent that war. Then the peace forces were fragmented and not nearly as strong as today. The Second International, which was perfectly correct in assessing the causes of war in its resolutions, was not able to translate what had been understood into a class-bound policy for preventing war. Eaten up by opportunism and revisionism, it collapsed when the war broke out. Only the Bolshevik party under Lenin's leadership adopted a clear and consistent position against war and, along with it, the international workers movement including the revolutionary German Left with Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. The bourgeois peace movement at the time, rich in words but weak in deeds, rejected cooperation with the Left and with the workers movement. When the distinguished founder of that movement, Bertha von Suttner, recognized how wrong that was, it was already too late.<sup>2</sup>

The situation was very different even before World War II. For one thing, there was the socialist Soviet Union, a mighty state of peace. It opposed the war threatened by fascism by its own tenacious and concentrated efforts on behalf of a collective security system in Europe, which could have leashed any potential aggressor. But the western powers kept rejecting appropriate concrete accords. And then there was a strong communist world movement united in the Communist International. It most consistently expressed the interests of the workers class as the major force of peace. At its Seventh World Congress in July and August 1935, it worked out a strategy and policy that oriented the communist parties toward bringing together, in terms of its historic mission, all peace-loving, democratic and antifascist forces in a united front to fight against fascism, militarism and war. The general secretary of the Communist International, Georgiy Dimitrov, said: "A peace front is needed that covers all continents."<sup>3</sup>

In parts of the Social Democratic movement, the Communist International appeal sparked positive reactions. In France, Spain and some other countries they made common cause with the communist parties, as the precept of the times would require. In Spain the most important battle between the forces of democracy, peace and progress on the one side, and the main forces of fascism, on the other, was fought before World War II started.

Could World War II have been prevented? In contrast to World War I, there was every chance for preventing it. Yet under those historic conditions one did not manage to bar the aggressors' course. To succeed, all peace forces, from the communists to the Social Democrats, the Christians and pacifists, all the way to the bourgeois camp and the capitalist states in it that wanted peace and not war, should have had to unite in the "mighty anti-war front" of which Georgiy Dimitrov spoke.<sup>4</sup>

Apart from the imperialist western powers' virtual encouragement of the aggressors, through their appeasement policy and their attempts at directing the expansionary drive of German imperialism and Japanese militarism against the Soviet Union, the peace-loving forces were fragmented and proved too weak to banish the danger of war. Despite all the efforts by the communists, the working class in the capitalist countries was not able to act in concert in the effort to preserve peace. And the material capacity of the mightiest peace factor, socialism, was by no means as strong yet as it is today.

#### A Third World War Can and Must Be Prevented

Today the need to ban the danger to world peace has become much greater and more urgent because the most aggressive and reactionary circles of imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, have taken a course toward confrontation and military buildup, which they keep pursuing stubbornly. That course has led to the most dangerous exacerbation of the international situation since the end of World War II. It raises the danger of an outbreak of a global nuclear inferno, of the self-destruction of humanity. Millions and millions of people are deeply concerned in this situation about whether and how it is possible today to prevent that horror.

The communists and working people in the GDR--as their comrades in arms in fraternal socialist countries--feel at one with all fighters against the war danger in the conviction that the current perilous development is not irreversible. There is a real chance today for banning the war danger from the life of mankind. Through the forces and factors that have led to this, in principle, new situation and that determine its character, is expressed the world-historic significance of the Soviet people's victory in the Great Patriotic War and its strong influence on the whole course of international development: "Favorable prerequisites have arisen for the struggle by the working masses for their social and national liberation. The positions of the progressive, democratic and peace-loving forces have been solidified, and the communist and workers parties have gained more influence. The socialist world system has come about and has been developing. The disintegration of the imperialist colonial system was speeded up and ended with the collapse of that system."<sup>5</sup> The further shaping of the character of our era that came from there and the concomitant penetrating change in the international correlation of forces form the crucial basis for our certainty that it is possible to prevent a world war, a nuclear inferno. They are the inexhaustible source for our optimism.

The countries of the community of socialist states, headed by the Soviet Union as the chief bastion of peace, are the strongest and decisive peace force. Compared with 1945, let alone 1941, the international correlation of forces has fundamentally changed in favor of real socialism. Our countries' strategy and policy, resolutely geared to the well-being of people, the happiness of nations, and to peace for the world, have caused an incessant growth of the international respect for and the radiation of real socialism, the quantitative and qualitative increase in its weight in the international arena.

Among the most significant world-historic results of the all-round consolidation of our socialist community is the approximate military-strategic equilibrium

between socialism and imperialism that was brought about mainly by the heroic efforts and achievements of the Soviet people and that forms a factor of first-rank importance for ensuring international stability and the defense of peace. The existence of this military parity manifests the fact that any imperialist aggressor would today assume a deadly risk and that never again will there be anything like 22 June 1941. The Soviet Union and its allies are not seeking military supremacy but they cannot and will never allow a supremacy of the imperialist side. A unilateral reduction of their defense forces, any inferiority would weaken socialism as the strongest peace force and would encourage the imperialist confrontation politicians and first-strike strategists and strengthen them in their illusion they could emerge unscathed from a nuclear adventure.

The socialist states resolutely oppose the arms race. Their goal is preserving the equilibrium on an ever diminishing level, arms limitation, and balanced arms potential reduction on both sides while strictly abiding by the principle of equality and equal security. About that, the states of the socialist community have proposed a constructive and realistic peace program.<sup>6</sup> It has been extensively explained in the Prague Political Declaration of the Warsaw Pact States, of January 1983, and in the Moscow Declaration by the Highest Representatives of Socialist States, of June 1983. The declaration from the CEMA member countries of June 1984 has confirmed it anew. The proposals contained in these documents still are on the table. The socialist states, undeterred, let themselves be guided by the consideration that there is no more urgent task today than the preservation of world peace and the preventing of a nuclear catastrophe, so that the important thing is to strengthen socialism in every way and place it fully into the scale of peace.

It is becoming ever more important for safeguarding peace and pushing back the war danger that comes from the imperialist hegemonic drive for the nationally liberated states of Africa, Asia and Latin America to take an active stand in the international arena. Through their growing realization that independent national development and peace condition each other, they are siding more and more with the cause of world peace and with the concerted action by all peace forces. The movement of the nonaligned states also plays a significant role in the struggle against war and for freedom, independence and the unrestrained development of the peoples.

In all parts of the world a mighty peace movement has spread. It unites people of diverse social origin, political position and ideological conviction. Working through various forms and with an increasing power of attraction, this movement has become a weighty political factor in Europe and the United States. Militaristic, ultra-reactionary forces had hoped the peace movement would break up after the deployment of new U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe and the masses would eventually knuckle under to nuclear blackmail. The answer from the peace movement has been: The struggle continues--all the more now!

More and more new forces, diverse in political, social and ideological respects, are joining the peace movement. The crucial point is to what degree the most powerful peace potential, the workers class, can be activated for it. The communists prove to be reliable partners in the peace movement. With energy and

substantively they are working for common goals. The conditions of their struggle differ, and so do their ways and means. Yet they find their most important and common concern in safeguarding and stabilizing peace.

It is highly significant that most of the social-democratic and socialist parties today oppose the arms buildup and confrontation and champion detente and disarmament. More and more resolutely the trade unions have joined the struggle for peace and against the arms buildup and the social welfare cuts engendered by it. The young generation plays a most active role. Women and girls also increasingly understand their duty to guard peace and life. Ever larger circles of churches and believers are coming out for peace and against the military buildup policy. Artists, physicians, scientists, educators, lawyers, and active and former military have joined the peace front.

Furthermore, realistic politicians and businessmen in capitalist states, including the United States and the FRG, are also announcing their worries, reservations or rejection of the confrontation and first-strike policy. That extends to circles of monopoly capital, even into the parliaments and governments of imperialist states. Those circles, that certainly want no basic social changes, do in fact realize that after a nuclear war they would no longer make profits and their social system would be devoid of any future altogether.

There is an unmistakable chance that in the struggle for peace diverse forces will come and work together still more in the future. That lends an unprecedented breadth and a new quality to this struggle. The dangers have undoubtedly become incomparably greater, but so have the defense forces. That wraps up the most important factors that cause our optimism and our certitude: The wretched past is not going to be repeated.

#### The GDR Takes to Heart the Lessons of Both World Wars

Located on the dividing line between the Warsaw Pact peace alliance and aggressive NATO, our party and state are resolutely dedicated to the cause of peace, whereby they fulfil their responsibility to our own people and the fraternal socialist peoples, as well as to all revolutionary and peace forces around the world. Firmly committed to the joint peace program of the socialist states, our country is making its active contribution and is summoning all who are prudent and realistic for a coalition of reason.

The GDR has been consistent in drawing the lessons from both world wars. That is attested to, for everyone to see, by its many peace activities throughout all the years of its existence. After the start of the deployment of new U.S. missiles in West European NATO states, our party, government and the GDR people have let themselves be guided by Comrade Erich Honecker's observation at the seventh Central Committee session, confirmed by the eighth session, as follows: "The struggle for preventing a nuclear world war and for ending the arms race will be carried on--now all the more."<sup>7</sup> The GDR's firm peace policy is highly prized by our neighbors as well as in remote zones. That was, among other things, also reflected by the results of many visits by chiefs-of-states and other high-ranking politicians in our country.

The resolute dedication to peace finds an undivided consent and active support from people in all classes and strata in our country. Never before have the consensus in conviction and action and the relationship of trust between people and party been as strong as today. That is expressed not only through words but mainly also by millions of concrete acts taken for the all-round strengthening of our socialist fatherland, the consolidation of the socialist community and, hence, the reliable protection of peace.

Alongside the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist states, our republic has in the 35 years of its existence been making an active and initiative-rich contribution to assuring our continent of the longest peace period in our century and sparing the world a nuclear conflagration. The general secretary of the SED Central Committee, Comrade Erich Honecker, has affirmed: "We shall also do all we can in the future to prevent that peace ever to be terminated. The peoples all over the world can rely on this: we shall always see to it that never again will war emanate from German soil."

#### FOOTNOTES

1. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 19 June 1984, p 5.
2. Cf. Bertha von Suttner, "Lebenserinnerungen" [Memoirs], Verlag der Nation, Berlin, 1970, p 553.
3. Georgiy Dimitrov, "The United Front Struggling for Peace." "Against Fascism and War," "Selected Works," Vol 1, Fremdsprachen Verlag, Sofia, 1976, p 743.
4. Ibid., p 742.
5. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, loc. cit.
6. Cf. "Action Program for a Collective Socialist Peace Policy," EINHEIT, No 7, 1984, pp 661 ff.
7. Erich Honecker, "In kampferfüllter Zeit setzen wir den bewährten Kurs des X. Parteitages für Frieden und Sozialismus fort, 7. Tagung des ZK der SED" [In These Times of Struggle We Press Ahead Along the Road to Peace and Socialism Charted by the 10th Party Congress--7th Session of the SED Central Committee], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1983, pp 15-16.
8. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 8 June 1984, p 3.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SOCIALIST WAY OF LIFE - ACCOMPLISHMENTS, EXPECTATIONS

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[Article by T. Hahn, deputy director of the Institute for Sociology of the Humboldt University of Berlin, at present head of the Social Structure/Way of Living Sector at the Institute for Sociology and Social Policy of the GDR Academy of Sciences, and G. Winkler, director of the Institute for Sociology and Social Policy of the GDR Academy for Sciences and chairman of the Scientific Council for Social Policy and Demography: "A Way of Life of a Historically New Quality"]

[Text] Penetrating political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural changes have taken place in the life of our people in the historically brief period of only 35 years. Among the historic accomplishments of our socialist revolution is the formation of a new socialist way of life that is becoming ever more pervasive and extensive in the process of shaping the developed socialist society.

However much the individual may be aware of it--each citizen takes part in this complex process through his daily work and all his reactions to life. Each lives under social circumstances where no one any longer exploits anybody else and the output of human labor can no longer be turned into forces that destroy existence, but serve the good of all. This has already decisively altered all the living conditions for everyone and is of fundamental importance for their deliberate further development.

Men's living conditions and life orientations are complex indeed. Yet in all their complexity, they always reflect what we all have in common: our living in a society where, on the basis of working class political power and the socialist ownership in the means of production, economic growth and the satisfaction of men's material and intellectual-cultural needs are indissoluble from the strengthening of socialism and the protection of peace.

The two strategic tasks to be solved simultaneously in the 1980's--the safeguarding of peace and the further shaping of the developed socialist society--form the crucial prerequisite for further strongly extending the historically new type of our way of life, that truly humane way of life that makes peace and progress permanent and implies the free development of all individuals.

As an indispensable means for materializing the meaning of socialism, the strengthening of our economic capacity is a condition, outcome and component of the socialist way of life. Our party's economic strategy plays a key role especially also in this regard. Its implementation not only creates fundamental and increasingly better conditions for shaping the socialist way of life, it also demands from each individual modes of conduct, activities and attitudes that will make possible a conversion to all-round intensification in society and a rapid and effective application of new science data in the economy. The subjective factor is, objectively, gaining increasing weight for the economic and social policy implementation.

An essential criterion of the socialist way of life is the historically incomparable dynamism in the manner it is formed and being developed. It lies in the unity between the revolutionarily changing and constantly further changing objective living conditions and the conscious subjective appropriation of these living conditions. It is something that has grown and is still in the process of growing, something accomplished and something still to be accomplished--a progressive dynamic process, full of internal contradictions that propel our development, the planned use of which turns them into driving forces for our development under party leadership by means of concrete economic, political, social and ideological measures, that become action guidelines for all the working people.

Understanding the historically new quality of the socialist way of life thus implies the realization that it always is accomplishment and expectation at once. The characteristic features defining it provide emphatic evidence for it.

#### Social Security for All

In the social security for all, that historic accomplishment of socialism, which governs life in our republic, it becomes concretely manifest and perceptible to everyone that in socialism "man is the measure of all things and the good of the people, the supreme concern."\* How important the implementation of the right to work, to taking part in management and planning, to education, decent housing, recreation, health care and social welfare, material and financial support in case of sickness, disability and old-age-- all this is for individual and family living and for the personality development of each, is thrown into relief by the crisis processes in the capitalist world.

Social security, for all that, is neither reducible to any one measure or other in public health nor to financial support in the vicissitudes and emergencies of life referred to. Rather, it is concerned with shaping the kind of political, economic and intellectual-cultural conditions that will make ever more possible for the members of all classes and strata to lead meaningful lives.

Social security not only is a claim the individual has on society but just as much a demand for high quality and efficiency in individual labor, to create the necessary conditions for ensuring and further developing these accomplishments

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\*Erich Honecker, "Report to the Third SED Central Committee Session," "Reden und Aufsaetze" [Speeches and Essays], Vol 8, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1983, p 304.

of our society. Sociological surveys confirm how highly prized by the working people the party policy is, such as ensuring the right to work and the improved working conditions, the implementation of the housing program, the stability of prices for vital goods, rentals and taxes--in short, the entire social policy. That however also underscores that both the historical accomplishments and the everyday perception of our humanistic policy can motivate attitudes and conduct only when the individual becomes aware of their social significance. More than 50 percent of the GDR population, thanks to our socialist development, never experienced social insecurity, poverty, apprehensiveness about subsistence, homelessness and misery. Portraying the historic magnitude of our accomplishments and the causes, efforts and struggles that led to them, so that all become aware of it, is and remains an important responsibility of our political-ideological work. At the same time it becomes a matter of deepening the realization that an indispensable moral principle of our society is to connect ever more effectively the individuals' resorting to our social accomplishments with their fulfilling their social obligations. The further shaping of such thoughts and actions by performance-promoting and challenging issue-taking in the work collective and through a consistent application of the performance principle, and through effective political-ideological work, are crucial for fully developing the efficacy of the impulses in our sociopolitical measures, of our social security.\*

#### A Historically New Manner of Relating to Work

Our party program calls labor the innermost core of the socialist way of life.\*\* Conscientious, honest and socially useful work, the results of which for the first time in the history of mankind, under socialist production relations, are of benefit to all, is the basic prerequisite for fulfilling all the demanding tasks of our society for a further successful implementation of economic and social policies in their unity and thus for our social progress. The liberation from exploitation at once determines that an individual receives ever more extensive opportunities for realizing and developing his creative capacities in the decisive sphere of his public activity, and that the socialist way of life is, above all, defined by a new manner in which man relates to his work.

Surveys confirm that labor is assuming an ever higher place value in the life of the working people, particularly their need to apply the skills and abilities they have in the labor process, to be creatively active, and to do efficient work in a collective. The complete implementation of the right to work is in our republic no longer merely a question of just finding a job but, increasingly, of finding an activity in which the fulfilment of social requirements is closely linked with personal interests in using available skills and abilities and with perfecting them further. That is equally true for men and women.

The ever more pronounced new mode of relating to work is demonstrated by many initiatives for improving economic efficiency, in a new quality of innovator activity, in seeking top achievements in developing and using innovations, in a

\*Cf. Kurt Hager, "Gesetzmaessigkeiten unserer Epoche--Triebkraefte und Werte des Sozialismus" [Inevitabilities of Our Era--Driving Forces and Values of Socialism] Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1983, pp 49-50.

\*\*Cf. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 54.

commitment to insisting on a productive-critical atmosphere in the collectives, in continuing education activities and so forth. That is becoming most apparent through the contest on behalf of our republic's 35th anniversary. The concrete obligations and objectives emphatically demonstrate that the guidelines issued through our economic strategy are mainly also being understood as expectations of individual behavior and are more and more consciously being implemented as such.

Thus the conversion to all-inclusive intensification implies making economic growth depend as never before on qualities in moral-political conduct and on the discipline and creativneness, the will to perform and the richness in ideas by each on his job. And that means orienting oneself consciously to the concrete requirements for economic development. That involves continuing occupational training as much as going into shift-labor, a higher degree of flexibility and also specific activities for various groups of occupations and working people in a number of economic sectors and territories. There lies a high political-moral claim in taking part in setting ambitious goals and in their idea-rich and energetic implementation. It causes them to think and act effectively on behalf of interests that transcend their collectives or combines and a critical-constructive attitude toward their own and their collectives' output in labor organization and production.

The increasing readiness to place higher criteria on one's own actions more and more results from the realization that intensification opens new fields of experience to the individual in which valuable personality traits, partly heretofore undiscovered abilities and interest horizons, can develop. New forms of creative work, solidary cooperation, risk-taking, strength of will and flexibility are being tested. It has often been shown that when someone is content with his work, he becomes happier at work.

A most decisive experience in shaping a new mode of relating to one's work is that the changes in our society that have to do with our scientific-technical progress and with socialist rationalization serve man. They gradually bring it about that essential disparities between mental and physical, industrial and agricultural, and heavy physical and hazardous, work are reduced and eliminated. That are at once essential conditions also for further developing the uniformity of the socialist way of life and promoting more of a social rapprochement among classes and strata.

#### Rising Material and Intellectual-Cultural Standard of Living

A high material and cultural standard of living, commensurate with our productivity and efficiency level, determines the way of life in all classes and strata in our republic. Its development is shown, for instance, by the following data:

--Between 1971 and the end of the first quarter of 1984, more than 2 million new, modernized and reconstructed apartments were completed. That improved housing conditions for more than 6 million people.

--The average monthly gross income for workers and employees in the state-owned enterprises, in 1970 only M 762, came to circa M 1,100 in 1983. The proportion of workers' and employees' households with a net income of over M 1,200 rose from 30 to 78 percent between 1970 and 1983.

--The proportion of high-grade industrial consumer goods allocations between 1970 and 1983 rose from 56 to 99 in refrigerators, from 54 to 87 in washing machines, from 61 to 91 in television sets, and from 16 to 42 for automobiles, per 100 households. Still existing disparities, resulting in part from the number of family members, could be further reduced through subsidies for large families.

Connected with these and many other facts are decisive changes in the premises for living profoundly affecting all spheres of the work day and family life, the structuring of leisure time and interhuman conviviality.

We comprehend and realize the rising material and intellectual-cultural living standard in its ramifications and unity. The socialist way of life shows a high and further rising technical and political education level and a more efficient use being made of it. In 1982, some 82.5 percent of the working people had completed vocational training (in 1971 = 61 percent). Breaking the educational monopoly and overcoming educational disparities as between the urban and rural population and between men and women, made possible shaping personalities with a high scientific, polytechnically oriented general education and fine technical knowledge, with creative abilities, a sense of community and of political responsibility, and with a unique and one-time individuality.\*

Economic performance development, especially intensification, makes high demands today on technical skills for coping with technology and on ideological education, on the working people's flexibility and their willingness to face new and higher requirements. Necessary changes in the economic structure, the substance of the work and working conditions call for a dynamic accommodation of the public labor capacity to changing conditions. Relying on flexible basic training, combined with the ability and willingness to learn, continuing education becomes a process equal in rank with training. Working conditions and types of work do of course not change constantly all at the same time in all sectors. It is characteristic, however, that in general intensification turns ongoing continuing education into a regular component of the socialist way of life.

Surveys confirm that the conversion to all-inclusive intensification calls for high education and qualifications and for developing responsible political conduct and moral personality traits. A growing sense of responsibility for increasing production funds and outputs, reliability, great work discipline, the highest qualitative demands and many other things like that come with, and stimulate, intensification. A will to perform, energy, discipline, high technical knowledge and skills, sound political standpoints, and a firm attitude toward socialist property are already crucial even today for ever more prominently infusing socialist performance behavior.

#### A Historically New Quality of Social Relations

To be spared the daily need to fight for one's subsistence and apprehension about the future, to enjoy, not formally but really, the same basic rights as

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\*Cf. Kurt Hager, op. cit., p 57.

the next fellow, that is at the core of the new sense of life, the self-assurance of socialist personalities, in that the moral qualities of social fellowship, such as solidarity sociability, collectivity and cooperativeness produced by the working class in capitalism [as published] find their general spread in their process of further development.

Typical of our society is that the members of all classes and strata live together in a way that is conditioned by an unprejudiced conduct of citizens all equal in rights.

The conflict between generations that is so typical of class society, manifesting the deep antagonistic contradictions in that system, also has lost its social basis; public tasks are being resolved jointly by young and old, through confident cooperation and by making use of the experiences of all generations. The altered public position of woman at work, in political life and within the family has led to changes in the traditionally deeply rooted forms and contents in the everyday togetherness of man and woman.

In the labor process, the new quality of social relations is expressed most emphatically. Success in the contest for top achievements objectively becomes more and more dependent on how the individual acts on behalf of his collective, takes his clews from the best workers, and helps those who lag behind. Frankness and mutual respect more and more determine the cooperation among workers, technicians, and researchers in coping with technical innovations, enforcing new standards in work collectives, in joint initiatives for enforcing a more rational labor organization and so forth.

In all sorts of leisure time collectives and in many forms of selfless aid provided in neighborhoods, the help given to senior citizens, the commitment to others and, not last, in the relations of partnerships and in the parenting in families, it becomes evident that these moral criteria are evolving in all spheres of life. More and more people feel it is their responsibility to take a stand against manifestations of indifference, rudeness and the design of some people to live at the expense of others.

This complex process, contradictory as it also sometimes is in individual development, is of course not without its own confrontations and conflicts. New things do not come to prevail without some friction. They call for shedding what is obsolete and for a personal commitment against tenacious habits and modes of thinking and conduct that had struck deep roots for generations under entirely different circumstances. This is all the more so in that imperialist confrontation and subversion strategists are purposefully and subtly working for exporting patterns of thought and conduct of the way of life of their historically obsolete world and for infusing them in those who got rid of the powers and laws of the exploiter society. Only recall the "psychological warfare" conducted with electronic mass media around the clock for the minds of people, where everything is being used that seems suitable to sustain and revive all proclivities in ideas and sentiments opposing socialism.

We are shaping the developed socialist society and, with it, the socialist way of life under conditions of more intense confrontation with imperialism and its policy and ideology. That always has to be taken into account when it becomes a matter of purposefully, persistently, persuasively and empathetically promoting the mode of thinking and conduct that is endemic to our world and our ideals.

#### An Active Stance in Life

Taking an active stance in life is typical of our mode of living. That is mainly expressed in our country in the commitment made by the individual and the collective to fulfilling the ambitious economic tasks for strengthening our republic and, hence for safeguarding peace. This vivid stance also becomes effective in political and cultural activities in residential areas, in the activities of commissions, activists groups and organizations with their very many areas of responsibilities. It also expresses itself in a greater awareness for the environment.

Such an active stance of course does not form spontaneously as the outcome of new living conditions. Relevant and differentiated ideological work is imperative for it. That becomes effective if--in taking account of the increasing abilities and demands of the citizens--it relies on an idea-rich organization of various democratic experiences in being wanted, in successfully sharing in the decision-making and organization of social development. It is a matter of practically and concretely experiencing the unity of democracy and socialism and of personally perceiving the advantages of socialism as they all connect with one another.

Stable basic socialist positions and objectives in life, reflecting the unity between socialism and peace, the humanistic character of socialism, form the decisive foundation for modes of conduct conducive to economic and social development. They also are important for deeply understanding the dialectics of the class struggle and for correctly assessing developmental problems where they arise and for sharing the responsibility for coping with them.

In the daily efforts on behalf of fulfilling the concrete tasks in enforcing the peace policy, that embodies the very own interests of each, and of his children and children's children, and in working for economic growth and social progress, the personal potentials of all are activated and enriched: Their lives become more substantial as they themselves can provide their lives with meaning and fulfilment.

5885  
CSO: 2300/653

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SUMMARIES OF MAJOR EINHEIT ARTICLES, AUGUST 1984

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 39 No 8, Aug 84 (signed to press 10 Jul 84)  
pp 674, 766-767

[Summary of article by Toni Hahn, deputy director of the Institute for Sociology of the Humboldt University of Berlin, at present head of the Social Structure/Way of Living Sector at the Institute for Sociology and Social Policy of the GDR Academy of Sciences, and Gunnar Winkler, director of the Institute for Sociology and Social Policy of the GDR Academy of Sciences and chairman of the Scientific Council for Social Policy and Demography; pp 681-686. A full translation of this article is published in this report]

[Text] A Way of Life of a Historically New Quality

The development of our republic, the socialist revolution under working class party leadership, is inseparably linked with the formation of a new, socialist way of life. With reference to essential criteria for the socialist way of life, this is being demonstrated: As an accomplishment of socialism it places at once a high demand on the thought and actions of each individual. Its development is marked by high dynamics. Requirements and tasks for a deeper and more comprehensive development of it.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Helmut Hanke, research sector chief at the Institute for Marxist-Leninist Cultural and Art Sciences of the SED Central Committee's Social Sciences Academy; pp 687-691]

[Text] About the Nature of and the Variety in the Socialist Way of Life

The dialectics between the general and the particular, essence and appearance, unity and variety finds expression in the socialist way of life. What are the general, characteristic and essential features of the socialist way of life, and what is it based on? How does the whole wealth and variety of our living come to the fore through it as well? Special attention is paid to the intellectual-cultural aspect.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Gottfried Stiehler, deputy research director at the Marxist-Leninist Philosophy Section of the Humboldt University of Berlin; pp 692-697]

[Text] Collectivity and Individuality

The development of socialist collectivity and that of human individuality are reciprocally conditioning characteristics of the socialist way of life. Collectivity as an accomplishment and characteristic mark of the socialist molding of life serves to solve social tasks and shape the individuality of each. Why is individuality a social phenomenon, in what does it express itself and what role is played in its development by men's living conditions and life activities?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Johannes Zelt, retired professor at the Institute for International Workers Movement of the Academy of Social Sciences at the SED CC; pp 698-705. A full translation of this article is published in this report]

[Text] Lessons of Two World Wars

Two world wars emanating from German soil serve as a warning and obligation to the GDR people to do everything possible, together with all peace-loving people around the world, to avert the danger of a nuclear world war threatened today by the most aggressive U.S. and NATO circles. In contrast to the situations prevailing before the two world wars, unprecedented opportunities exist for that today as never before in the history of mankind. Especially the strength of socialism and the worldwide peace movement have lent the struggle for the safeguarding of peace a breadth and quality that makes us view the future with optimism.

[Summary of article by Dr Guenter Fischhold, party secretary in the research center for machine tool construction in the VEB Fritz Heckert Machine Tool Combine, Karl-Marx-Stadt, and Dr Gerd-Rainer Radtke, science associate at the Institute for the Political Economy of Socialism of the Academy of Social Sciences at the SED CC; pp 706-710]

[Text] On Economizing Scientific-Technical Work

About the social expectations of the efficiency of science and technology in the conversion to all-round intensively expanded reproduction. High rates in upgrading products and methods require top achievements and are setting new criteria for each combine and each research process without any exception.

[Summary of article by Dr Walter Freund, general director of the VEB Combine for Ball Bearings and Standard Parts; pp 711-714. A full translation of this article is published in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] Proven Form of Socialist Economic Integration

The "ball bearing industry cooperation organization" to which our republic belongs is one of the specialized CEMA organizations through which the advantages of socialist economic integration are more and more taking hold. How does work proceed in that organization, how is such an enormous economic potential coordinated and organized, and what economic benefit derives from it? Such questions are answered on the basis of the valuable experiences the VEB Combine for Ball Bearings and Standard Parts has gathered throughout two decades.

[Summary of article by Rainer Huhle, secretary of the FDJ Central Council, and Dr Walter Richter, deputy minister for agriculture, forestry and foodstuffs; pp 715-720]

[Text] The Economic Strategy as a Challenge to the Initiative and Creativeness of Rural Youth

Through high achievements in the "FDJ Peace Rally" the youths in agriculture, forestry and foodstuffs are getting set for their congress in Schwerin in November 1984. What explains the advances in the work with youth brigades and youth projects? How can one make still more effective use of the increasing readiness by young cooperative farmers and workers to take part in solving demanding scientific-technical tasks?

[Summary of article by Dr Karl Heinig, scientific associate in the science theory and science organization section at the Humboldt University in Berlin; pp 721-726]

[Text] Carl Schorlemmer--An Important Chemist and Comrade in Arms of Marx and Engels

Schorlemmer lived and worked at a time that was politically and scientifically eventful. As cofounder of organic chemistry and an outstanding historian of his field, he earned permanent scientific distinctions. He was a close friend of Marx and Engels. His research was of valuable assistance to them in developing the concept of nature in dialectical materialism. Schorlemmer was an active fellow-combatant of the German and international workers movement. Engels properly called him a "chemist and communist of the first rank."

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Reinhard Bruehl, Maj Gen, director of the GDR's Institute for Military History; pp 727-731]

[Text] The Weight of the Battles and Victories of the Soviet Armed Forces, 1944

The Soviet people and its glorious army made the decisive contribution in World War II to smashing the fascist and Japanese militarist aggressors and rescuing world civilization. Led by Lenin's party, the Soviet armed forces also in 1944 dealt the fascist occupiers further decisive blows. In the spirit of Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism they liberated in that year most of the nations oppressed by the fascist aggressors and gave the national liberation movements further basic impulses for their struggle against the fascist yoke.

[Summary of article by Gerd Vehres, political staff member of the SED CC; pp 732-736. A full translation of this article is published in this report under the country heading ROMANIA]

[Text] Romania--40 Years After the Liberation from Fascism

The four decades since the historic turning point of August 1944--a time span in which, under the leadership by the Romanian communists, the biggest social transformation in the centuries-old history of the country took place and a backward agrarian country became a socialist industrial-agrarian state. The far-reaching goals for constructing an all-round developed socialist society as envisaged by the Ninth and 10th RCP Congress. Foreign policy priorities and the cooperation within the scope of the community of socialist countries.

[Summary of article by journalist Horst Szczesny; pp 737-742]

[Text] The CIA--Tool of Subversive U.S. Policy

As the Reagan administration, within the scope of its confrontation strategy, favors subversion as a means of conspiracy against the nations, the CIA is experiencing the biggest buildup of its material-technical, personnel and finance apparatus since 1950. Violence, murder and terrorism are among the instruments of this intelligence organization with its operations around the world, which has recently escalated its activities especially against the nationally liberated states. Such practices are sharpening regional conflicts and raising the danger of war; simultaneously they meet with increasing resistance by the nations.

DETAILS ON JARUZELSKI VISIT TO ELECTRONICS R&D CENTERS

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25-26 Aug 84 pp 1, 2

[Article: "Visit by Gen W. Jaruzelski to Warsaw Research and Development Centers"]

[Text] On 24 August, First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee General Wojciech Jaruzelski and Vice Premier Zbigniew Szalajda visited the Institute of Electronic Technology [ITE] and the CEMI Center for Semiconductor Research and Production in Warsaw.

In implementing the government program for the development of electronics in the national economy that was decreed in June of this year, these centers are involved in scientific research, technological development and the production of elements, subassemblies and assemblies for microelectronics.

The purpose of this visit was announced once the bus left the Council of Ministers building.

The first facility visited by Gen Jaruzelski contained laser equipment. The guests were welcomed by Krzysztof Jaworski, who is training at ITE. He graduated this year from the Warsaw Polytechnical Institute and will begin military service in a few days at the reserve warrant officers' school. When asked whether he planned to stay at ITE, he said that he hoped to. Work at ITE is giving him the opportunity to continue improving his abilities and deepen his knowledge.

Later, Dr Anna Piotrowska joined the conversation. She acquainted the guests with the type of work being done in the metallization and photochemistry shop in the area of optical electronics. In short, optical electronics concerns the combined use of laser devices and optical fibers in telecommunications. To the questions about eventual obstructions and difficulties in research, development and production work, Dr Piotrowska stated that the main complaint is the lack of new apparatus and equipment. She felt that this was the only limit on the staff's efforts at the center. The intellectual potential is high enough, despite the fact that young people, as a rule, work in the Institute of Electronic Technology and the Semiconductor Research and Production Center. The

unique level of qualification of the staff at the two centers was also pointed out in subsequent conversations.

Gen Jaruzelski took interest in the practical applications of research results. The acceleration of laser and optical fiber research would make it possible to forego certain stages in the development of telecommunications such as telephone technology. Ireneusz Wojcik spoke about this subject, saying that optical electronics technology can be used on a broad scale to replace underground copper cables. For this reason, optical electronics research is unusually important.

When asked about forms of cooperation with other research and development centers, Dr Piotrowska answered that cooperative work is often informal and unofficial in nature. She had the impression that cooperative research has not been sufficiently coordinated.

The subject of emoluments also came up during the discussion. Research workers earn well but the chance to realize their interests in research activity counts for much as well. This is not as important in the case of the technical staff, which is too small due to the low pay.

Dr Ewa Markowska spoke about other problems such as the purchase of equipment with hard currencies. There is too little foreign currency available. An embargo has been placed upon many types of equipment and specialized machinery. There are also difficulties in scheduled purchases of domestically produced apparatus.

The hosts also pointed out that reporting on scientific activity could be less reduced in scope. The time devoted to preparation of extensive and numerous reports which are not always read later could be better used.

During the visit to the next level of research which is being conducted by Prof Jerzy Klamka, there was a discussion of future developments in electronics, particularly microwave integrated circuits. Prof Klamka's group has made significant achievements in this area.

The First Secretary spoke for a longer period with Małgorzata Susecka and Wojciech Kotrys, who returned to the institute following military service in the Border Guards.

Gen Jaruzelski spoke at some length with administrative representatives of the Institute of Electronic Technology and CEMI. "Our staff," said the Institute of Electronic Technology's deputy director, Andrzej Kassur, "knows how and where to make its next step in microelectronics. It is intellectually capable but lacks means in the form of certain technological equipment. The technological line which has been functioning at CEMI since 1979 has a limited output. We therefore need new investments for equipment.

"Our lag in progress, despite the fact that we have not lost contacts with international developments in microelectronics and microprocessor technology, is assessed by specialists of various fields at the Institute of Electronic

Technology and CEMI.

"The distance to be made up is great but not as great as people think. We have a program," said Dr Kassur, "an educated, young and ambitious staff, whose skill is making it possible to make up for lost ground but we must have help. The products that we are now making are willingly purchased in many countries."

"It is also known," said CEMI's deputy director of technology and production, Stanislaw Goledzinowski, "that microprocessors will be the crude oil of the twenty-first century. Microelectronics is revolutionizing the world. We must therefore at least attempt to make progress and in the coming years not allow the gap to increase. These needs are not imaginary. Polish industry announced this year its great and increasing need for integrated circuits and microprocessors. There also exist great export opportunities to socialist as well as Western countries."

Dr Ryszard Przowlocki, the laboratory director at the Institute of Electronic Technology, and other participants to the discussion pointed out the value of close cooperation of scientific institutes such as theirs with manufacturers like CEMI. Actually, in working together, institutes and manufacturers form a single organism. The Institute and CEMI use the same laboratories, equipment, etc. The organizational division is only formal in character and gives the best results. These opinions were shared by the first secretary of CEMI's PZPR committee, Zbigniew Dabrowski.

Premier Jaruzelski and Vice Premier Szalajda asked about cooperation with foreign institutes and enterprises. They were told that cooperation with the socialist countries is developing but the tempo should be increased. Among the socialist nations, we are still in the forefront of electronics and microelectronics research. The hosts did feel, however, that our allies have placed much importance on electronics research, particularly in the last few years, and are making great efforts to develop it. Our intellectual potential in this field should keep us from falling behind. However, consistent realization of the government's program of so-called funding safeguards is essential.

Dr Przowlocki, answering subsequent questions about problems faced by scientists as well as persons responsible for production, spoke about the risk barrier. The risk of failure is an inseparable part of any activity, including science. This fact must be considered in assessing the efforts and results of work by individuals and entire sections. In his opinion, this is essential to rapid progress.

In conclusion, the administrative representatives of the Institute of Electronic Technology and CEMI said that their field of science lacks the necessary means to make any breakthroughs. If they are to make progress, they will need rather large investments on suitable laboratory and production equipment.

Gen W. Jaruzelski stated that the dangers facing us if Polish microelectronics is not effectively supported are well known. We must however remember that there are many other areas that we must safeguard against stagnation or attempt

to intensively develop. The world explosion in areas such as microelectronics has unfortunately taken place in a period in which our economic possibilities are limited. Nevertheless, we must do everything possible to improve the situation. We must take advantage of our opportunities for cooperation with the CEMA [Council for Economic Mutual Aid] nations, especially the Soviet Union, with which we have an economic, scientific and technical agreement until the year 2000. A particularly bright point in Polish microelectronics is its young, capable and highly-educated cadre with its great possibilities. The strong, organic union of science and industry will pass the test. The experiences of the Institute of Electronic Technology and CEMI are thus worth generalizing and the bonds between science and industry must above all be economic in nature. An important direction to the efforts of all interested persons is the removal of formal obstructions and the elimination of unnecessary bureaucracy.

Following this lively and very sincere discussion, the premier visited the laboratories and facilities containing the production flow-lines lines for production of items such as integrated circuits. The guests were conducted around the facilities by Kazimierz Szpetulski, deputy director of the integrated circuit shop. The equipment and production output astound the layman. The air in the facilities in which the integrated circuits are manufactured must be 10-100 times purer than in a hospital operating room. There is equipment that works to "graft" single ions into the structure of a crystal. All of this forms a basis for the development of microelectronics. Not all of the barriers to the growth of this science can be removed at once because we must eliminate the obstructions that can only be remedied by better organization.

In conclusion, the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers wished the staff of both centers good luck in their work and added that the government will very soon again take up the problem of comprehensive development of Polish microelectronics.

12261  
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POLAND

RESERVATIONS ON PZPR CALL FOR 'WORKER-PEASANT' AUDIT BODIES

Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish No 33, 12 Aug 84 p 2

[Article by S. C.: "Control"]

[Text] In our economy, and even more broadly, in our community life, there are many irregularities. They inhibit the process of resolving the crisis and arouse frustration. Most people work hard and contend with many difficulties in everyday life. Subjectively, they feel that progress in eliminating these difficulties is a bit slow, it does not measure up to individual effort. This understandably engenders a movement to seek the sources of the evil and to move toward a just division of the earned results, to increasing the tempo of positive changes in our life. An excellent expression of these aspirations was given by the 16th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee. Among other forms, this also took the form of creating a worker-peasant inspectorate, bodies with broad control authority that would mobilize social forces to fight against misuse and irregularities. Before this idea takes on an organizational form, it would be worth while to discuss the form of this new supervisory institution and submit the the basic institutional resolutions to community consultation. Impatience here may be a poor counselor.

There is no lack of various supervisory bodies here. Ten thousand persons are professionally involved in them. Additional bodies are formed for this purpose which involve the army, community activists and representatives of various institutions. In recent years an exhaustive investigation and evaluation was made not only of the work of almost all administrative centers and the state apparatus, but also the course of various socioeconomic developments that disquieted public opinion. It is possible then to risk stating that it would be difficult to complain of a lack of supervision. There are even voices saying that the number of supervisors who meet in passing is making it difficult to carry out normal work in some enterprises. These voices may be exaggerating, but they give credence to the idea that there is a large number of supervisory institutions that function as a matter of routine. In this situation, the question arises, what role in the whole system of state and community control will the worker-peasant inspectorate play? The basic problem is probably not that the number of inspections is too small, but that it is the feeling of the community that their effectiveness is inadequate. Thus, if the worker-peasant inspectorate were to do what is expected of it, then the principal matter for discussion must be the

problem of the effectiveness of its activity. Otherwise the same thing will happen to this idea that has happened with the attempts to create committees for social control since the 1970's.

At this point we come to a broader problem. In a socialist, law-abiding state, the point of departure for every supervisory act must be existing legal regulations. Otherwise we would come to the paradoxical conclusion that our legal system is different from community interests and serves poorly to build socialism. This does not change the fact, however, that at a somewhat "lower story" of legislative activity, in ministry and central administrative agencies (and there are more than 10,000 of these), there are so many contradictions and disagreements with regulations of a higher order, that many of them seem to have been created primarily with the thought of self-insurance, or regard for the convenience of the agency and not for effectiveness or any real possibility of putting them into practice. I believe that this multiplicity of regulations is one of the causes of inadequate effectiveness of supervision thus far, for the slow course of reaching post-inspection conclusions, and sometimes even for their doubtful value.

The process of monitoring the "power of the duplicating machine" must, therefore, be accelerated. The worker-peasant inspectorate is supposed to be a community body, and therefore, a lay body. If it meets with the thicket of regulations that are always in force and gets involved in their interpretation (and it will have to do this if it acts according to the law), then its effectiveness will also be severely weakened.

The next problem that requires discussion is the position of the worker-peasant inspectorate in the existing power system and with respect to other supervisory institutions. Is it going to be an organ dependent on no one? Or is it going to be an organ of the Sejm (but the Sejm already has the Supreme Chamber of Control), the State Council, the government, the people's councils? Finally, ever more often the view prevails that this last solution would be most proper. The people's councils were given broad authority, they are elective bodies, the support of their inspection activities, which have a community character, could be a real element that would help in putting this authority into practice. A worker-peasant inspectorate could then attend to concrete grievances at a given place and apply itself to overcoming them.

The next matter is the scope of the authority of the inspectorate. There are those who favor solutions that would empower this body to pronounce sentences instantly. This is intended to increase the effectiveness of its activity, but at the same time it would lead to replacing adjudication units, treasury chambers, or even the whole apparatus for dispensing justice.

Obviously, there is no lack of problems for discussion and consultation; I have listed only a few of them here. I have not gone into more particular, but equally important matters because at this time we should consider, before anything else, certain broader matters: the function and role of control organs in general, the objective and subjective causes of various unfavorable developments, or even more broadly, methods of activating social forces to combat what is bad in our life.

URBAN'S PRESS CONFERENCE REPORTED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 6 Aug 84 p 4

[Press conference with Polish Government Press Spokesman Jerzy Urban on 31 July 1984]

[Text] Government Press Spokesman Jerzy Urban held a press conference on 31 July for foreign correspondents at the Interpress Press Center.

The following is a transcription of that meeting.

[Urban] I would like to quote to you some immutably surprising statements taken from the foreign press. It does not make much sense. Discussing the matter of the church foundation, DIE WELT wrote: "In rural areas, the social and political situation is more than just strained. Institutions and organizations are finishing each other off, which brings up the question of whether an aid program would not further increase this disorganization." I am abstracting here the results of the agricultural foundation program. DIE WELT did not, however, go into what brought about this situation or which organizations were finishing each other off and the point of the article is unknown. We only know that this is a new element in the effort to build up a totally false image of Poland.

In the Danish paper ILANSPOSTEM, a writer, Nielsen, describes a trip he made to Gdansk to see one of the people there he frequently visits. He writes that he travelled 200 kilometers from Bydgoszcz to Gdansk but that the taxi driver taking him wanted to return before curfew hour. This is supposed to be taking place at the present time! "The curfew begins at 8:00 p.m. We know that the 8:00 curfew and martial law have both been suspended but the fear of night-time police patrols is still deeply-seated in Poles." (Laughter is heard in the conference hall.)

Here is another item from Denmark. This involves the Danish radio discussion of the the case of the Reuter News Agency and the May First procession. The state has already heard that broadcast in this hall. Mr Oswald of Danish radio said, in reference to the blunder made by the Reuter correspondent that: "The Reuter correspondent who had given false information later confessed and apologized during an hour-long television broadcast. No Pole believed in the

authenticity of his reasoning." This is what I would again call information noise. Someone hears a rumor and uses it to publish humorous statements that run against any sense or logic of the given case.

Another item from Denmark, the 24 July issue of DERLINGSEDTENDE, discusses the amnesty in a commentary and expresses the opinion that the release of the prisoners has taken five years off of their lives. The years spent in isolation are counted and to this is added the number of years until the end of 1986. "In real terms this means the extension of martial law to at least the end of 1986," states this paper. This is the second case in which martial law is suddenly returned to Poland by Western journalism.

DIE WELT writes that opinions are divided among opposition circles over the USA's suspension of sanctions against Poland. The underground opposition feels that a hungry Pole is harder on his government. I don't care to argue that point here but am only quoting it because I wanted to use it as another example that our internal enemies feel that the worse the situation, the better for them.

On the subject of the amnesty, L'EXPRESS writes that "It is not the criminal treatment of the detained persons that should be annulled but the system." This is how the press betrays its intentions. When we charge that the intent of many forces in the West and the efforts of opponents of antisocialist tendencies is to stir up a debate with the government, the Western press blows up and contradicts us. We do however find in the Western press very many opinions and outright incitement to debate with our government.

There have been several opinions in the American press about whether Polish society supports the restrictions. On 27 July, The CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR wrote that "the administration should be guided by the interests and wishes of Polish society which has given genuine support to the restrictions but with the release of the prisoners the public mood could change." The WALL STREET JOURNAL writes that the majority of Poles support American restrictions against Poland.

This is an entirely false view. The very corruptible element of the most bitter opponents of the Polish government supported the American restrictions and thus came into great conflict with Polish public opinion and thus gained no political advantage. Indeed, this was one of the main factors which, to be frank, finished the opposition politically. The idea that Polish society supports the restrictions is irresponsible, unsubstantiated and totally illogical.

Although it is only using quotes, the AFP is distributing obviously nonsensical views. Some communique, either real or written by our underground opponents, on the exclusion of priests from the amnesty is being distributed. This agency is spreading information that the priests Popieluszko and Jankowski have been excluded from the amnesty. It continues to report that certain Solidarity activists and sympathizers that are known to be criminals are still in prison or awaiting trial. I really no longer know what sort of world we are living in. This text implies that anyone expressing their sympathy with Solidarity

should be freed from responsibility for criminal conduct. This is the only way it can be interpreted. Next, the complaint is made that the authorities use the amnesty to force the underground leaders as they come forth to betray their colleagues in hiding. This also is untrue. As the Polish press interpreted the matter, even when it is necessary to give the essential circumstances of committed crimes, this is not any violation of the interests of one's own colleagues.

To my great surprise, texts have appeared that, in discussing the mass conducted by Father Popieluszko and some other priest, expressed approval of the demands made during the mass to release Father Zych. Zych was convicted for taking part in an armed group, for keeping illegal weapons and for his connections with the murderers of Sergeant Karos. I would say that this goes very far in its intentions.

[Unidentified journalist] Two Solidarity leaders, Lech Walesa and Jurczyk, have appealed for talks to make a bargain. How does the government view this proposal for meetings and would any efforts be made to prevent any such meetings?

[Urban] Please speak for yourself when you ask such questions. This is a press conference. I will not answer questions presented on behalf of other persons. To put it plainly, I will not answer questions for representatives of Walesa and Jurczyk. I will answer questions for the journalists gathered here.

[Unidentified journalist] I am a journalist. I think you know that.\*

[Urban] I know that and respect you as a journalist. I only want you to rephrase the question so that I might answer it.

[Unidentified journalist] The interpretation of my question was bad. I wanted to ask what the government will do if the Solidarity leaders try to organize a meeting to reform their organization. This means that all of the leaders of Solidarity would try again to meet as a single group under one roof.

[Urban] This is a question of a legal nature. If these persons commit a crime, they will be pursued the same as anyone else. If, on the other hand, they commit no crimes, they will not be pursued.

[Unidentified journalist] Minister Urban, could you tell us how many persons imprisoned for political offenses will not be covered by the amnesty? I am referring to the workers from Lublin that were involved in the street disturbances of 1982.

[Urban] I know of two persons convicted for politically inspired crimes that will not be covered by the amnesty since they were charged according to article 122. I know of no other such persons. On the other hand, the

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\*Because of an interpreter's error, the government spokesman thought that the journalist was asking on behalf of Walesa and Jurczyk if the government wants to meet with them.

category of politically-motivated crimes was not created by us after all. The category is inexact. Any categorization of human motives is imprecise. Motives are not a measurable commodity. Many things can be done for political motives, for example, you can murder someone for political reasons, commit an act of terrorism or many other common crimes for political motives. In your countries, banks are robbed for political motives. In the West, when people speak about political prisoners, they are somehow always made with reference to us. If there are political prisoners in the West, the press reports them as persons accused of disturbing the peace, insulting the authorities or about punishments for crimes against the authorities. For example, in the German Federal Republic, such a category is used in press coverage at least. Therefore, the category of political motives is imprecise. It can always be said that, when someone who is convicted of a crime not covered by amnesty, they acted from political motives.

[Unidentified journalist] I would like to know if you have a concrete number of persons not covered by the amnesty.

[Urban] That will not be freed? Two.

[Unidentified journalist] When amnesty was announced, we were told that there would be 652 political prisoners released. Yesterday, Minister Skora said in an interview for ZYCIE WARSZAWY that 700 persons arrested or detained for political reasons have already been freed. Could you tell us how you have come to the figure of 652 as opposed to 700?

[Urban] No, I cannot because I would have to know what Minister Skora had in mind at that time. Either you misunderstood him or he was speaking of some broader category...I don't know. Today, the Polish Press Agency reported that out of a total of 14,000 prisoners, 450 of the 486 persons released by Monday were persons convicted of political crimes.

[Robert Strybel, Polonia Press] Minister Urban, who are those two persons that you said would not be covered by the amnesty.

[Urban] One of them is Bogdan Lis and the other I don't remember -- probably someone connected with Lis, maybe Mierzejewski.

[Kevin Ruane, BBC] I would like to ask two questions. Could you tell us something about the workers from Lublin who went out into the streets in 1982? There is little information in the papers about underground activists that have been released. Could you tell us something on this subject?

[Urban] I don't know the case you mentioned about the persons from Lublin. To put it simply, there are now tens of thousands of cases being tried by the courts. Meanwhile, 11 persons have been released. I have nothing to say about them except that they are persons have conducted illegal activities of a political nature and that they are covered by amnesty.

[Kevin Ruane] I would like to return to the question of the WASHINGTON POST

correspondent which was clearly unanswered. Would a new meeting of all Solidarity leaders be regarded as criminal activity?

[Urban] That depends upon whether or not the meeting were legal or illegal in nature. This question is to some degree absurd. I cannot evaluate the legal nature of a meeting that has not yet been held. Let's move on to the next question, please.

[Unidentified journalist] Minister Urban, does your government already have any sort of results from a study of public opinion on the amnesty? I ask this because I read in the local press, a weekly paper, that people are afraid that the crime rate will increase after such a large amnesty.

[Urban] I don't know of any such studies. Probably none were conducted or I would know about it. ZYCIE WARSZAWY announced that some public opinion studies were made just before amnesty on the subject of the public attitude toward a hypothetical amnesty. The Sunday edition of ZYCIE WARSZAWY published the results of this study. In this as in any other amnesty, many doubts and anxieties come out in various social groups. These doubts and anxieties also surround the release of the main criminals that acted under political motives. A large part of the public expressed alarm at their release. Alarm has also been caused by the release of common criminals. In reference to this, we explained that the amnesty has been set up so as not to disturb the peace or cause an increase in crime. The most dangerous criminals and repeating criminals will not be released. We have released persons having committed lesser crimes or sporadic criminals rather than habitual criminals. The experience that we have had with the many amnesties previously declared in Poland has shown us that an amnesty does not endanger the citizenry because only a part of the convicts released return to criminal life.

[Unidentified journalist] Minister Urban, I would like to ask you about the visit to Poland by Pakistan's foreign minister. From the PAP [Polish Press Agency] reports, I understand that the Polish and Pakistani foreign ministers discussed problems of great importance to their respective countries. Could you tell what topics of international importance were discussed? Were there any points on which your countries disagreed?

[Urban] I have nothing to say on the subject of talks and visits with the foreign minister of Pakistan aside from what information was released in PAP reports. As is usual, these talks ended with a release containing all that either side wanted to say. Poland has repeatedly declared its wish to confer with all nations on all important topics. That meeting was one manifestation of the realization of this policy.

[Kevin Ruane] Could I ask why the Warsaw municipal authorities have suspended the activities of the committee to build a monument to the Warsaw uprising? Could you tell us what problem there was with the naming of the monument and what percent of the veterans of this uprising supported or opposed the name of this monument?

[Urban] This committee was disbanded due to petty dissensions hindering its

functioning and problems it had cooperating with the authorities. A new committee was formed to put up the monument that society wants. As regards the argument over the monument's name, I would like to say that "Heroes of the Warsaw Uprising" is the name that would best satisfy everyone and cause no controversy. The name stresses the fact that the monument is to be erected to the memory of the heroes of the uprising that fought against the occupation forces. There is no reason to put up a monument to anything such as the political idea that led to the decision to start the uprising. This differentiation is an important and understandable one. You asked what percent of the uprising's veterans supported or opposed this name. I just don't see any reason why the monument should not be called the "Heroes of the Warsaw Uprising." I think that the disagreement that has come of this is not a significant public disagreement but just an isolated episode. There are always people ready to argue any point that comes up, every event, even one as serious as the anniversary of this tragic uprising, to turn them into a political quarrel, to dissension and aggravation.

[Robert Strybel] Minister Urban, Have the authorities already agreed to the existence of the masses for the fatherland that are attracting more and more people recently? Would you comment on the statement made by Prelate Bogucki last Sunday that the church will not enter into politics unless people are hurt by them, in which case the church has the right and the duty to come to their protection? Have you ever personally participated in such a mass or seen one on television or video cassette?

[Urban] Please do not confuse masses held for whatever reason with the functioning of a political club that is in dissent against the state, stirs up negative mass political feelings and where a priest known to be an accessory to murder is allowed to speak. I would like to express the view that a political club's functioning under the guise of a temple is the same as, for example, using the red cross symbol to cover rocket launchers.

[Piotr Wilczynski, German Press Agency] Minister Urban, does your answer to the question on Bogdan Lis mean that the decision has already been made to not free him under the amnesty?

[Urban] The investigation of Bogdan Lis's case is still in progress.

[Michel Castex, AFP] Has a decision been made on Fathers Popieluszko and Jankowski or is the investigation still continuing?

[Urban] Which decision?

[Castex] The decision to release them on amnesty.

[Urban] I don't know whether any decision has been made.

[Castex] Do you know the whereabouts of Frasyniuk?

[Urban] Please ask the address bureau. Persons that have been released are living wherever they please.

I would still like to comment on the announcement by the secretariat of the German Conference of Bishops in the German Federal Republic which was released to reject, as it is said, the charges that I made in this hall when I said that the maintenance of the institution of apostolic superintendents for deportees gives direct support to revisionist tendencies in the FRG.

This announcement states that apostolic superintendents are carrying out their mission on the orders of the pope. This is no doubt true except for the fact that this was a decision made by another pope 40 years ago when the problem of the deportees was a living concern. This has an entirely different meaning now that the pastorate is active among the descendants of the deportees as well. The German Bishops' Conference states that it continues to recognize a particular pastorate as necessary for "persons expulsed from their fatherland" and refugees. I wish to point out the use and emphasis of the word "expulsion" the maintenance of a need of a separate status for persons who, in the overwhelming majority, were born in areas other than in present-day Poland. The announcement further states that these persons "expulsed from the fatherland" may not be called revisionists because in recent years the organizations that they have formed have continued to confirm by word and deed their readiness for unity and friendship between our two nations.

This announcement expresses a wish to continue by means of official acts of the church in West Germany a dishonorable line of support for revisionist tendencies. I would like to reply to the statement that the so-called deportees cannot be called revisionists since they have confirmed by word and deed their readiness for unity and friendship by quoting a statement made by Herbert Czaja on the same day. Czaja said that the German federal government should not give even a pfennig as long as Poland does not meet its legal obligations to preserve the cultural identity of Germans, allow them the freedom to leave in the spirit of the United Nations human rights convention or as long as no emphasis is made by Jaruzelski as it was during the 1970 treaty that the German question will remain open. He further mentions uninhibited discrimination against Germans and their fatherland and says that "the Polish military dictatorship has given more than a million Germans within their sphere of power a minimum of human rights."

These words are not surprising since Czaja normally uses this type of language. On the other hand, if that isn't aggressive revisionism, then I don't know what it is. If you read prewar literature on the problem of German minorities in different countries before the war, real minorities, if one remembers the nazi writings on Czechoslovakia and Poland in which they first talked only of minority rights and minority rights alone, then on border revisions and then remember how the problem grew...I don't want to lecture on the events that led to the annexation of Czechoslovakia. With the historical memory that we have in this part of Europe, this way of voicing demands means just one thing to us. I deplore the fact that the secretariat of the German Bishops' Conference has not perceived in these announcements the politicians representing deportee organizations, so contradictory to the principles of unity that it also speaks about.

[ Ed. Margueritte, LE FIGARO] Minister Urban, leaving Warsaw last Friday, the

Polish primate himself said that when he is abroad he always keeps in mind the reasons of state of his fatherland in mind. Does the Polish government feel that the present visit and the last visit by Cardinal Glemp to the German Federal Republic confirm his statement?

[Urban] I have nothing to say on this matter.

[Francesco Bigazzi, ANSA] In an article in TRYBUNA LUDU yesterday, we read about so-called political hazardists. If I understood the article correctly, the attitude of the church is that some action should be taken this coming year to encourage pluralism. I would therefore like to ask you whether you agree with the views of TRYBUNA LUDU and just what the political hazardists are.

[Urban] I don't remember the context and cannot answer which of the political hazardists within and outside of Poland the author had in mind. As for merit, I would like to say that the government's view is best expressed by a sentence in Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek's report to the 12th Plenum. Jozef Czyrek said, "there will be no return to the division of the working class into social and political groups fighting between themselves. Efforts in conflict with this premise to palm off a diverse authorship to the conception or proposition are speculations that cannot be treated seriously. This type of experience has been definitely put out of the way."

Meanwhile, our political life, in its programs and in reality, is colored by a diversity of attitudes and many views of the world. We do not speak of unity but of understanding. Within constitutional limits, diverse views are both possible and presented. One level of extensive discussion is PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] among others and the new trade unions.

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PARTY'S LEADING ROLE EXTOLLED

Warsaw IDEOLOGIA I POLITYKA in Polish No 6, Jun 84 pp 14-28

[Article by Augustyn Wajda: "The Party's Role in the Political Development of the Working Class"]

[Text] The experience of the communist movement fully confirms the Marxist-Leninist thesis that the working class can fulfill consistently its historical mission only when it is headed by a revolutionary party that skillfully combines revolutionary theory with strategy and tactics in its activities. Only then can it formulate a program that is consonant with the general laws of social development and that reflects the current and longrange interests and expectations of the working class, and only then can it adapt the implementation of that program to the conditions and possibilities existing in a given country during a given historical stage.

The correct activity of the Marxist-Leninist party is the principal factor in strengthening the leading role of the working class. The party as the leading force in the socialist political system determines the directions and nature of socialist construction, shapes the political thought, and outlines the program, strategy and tactics for the activities of the working class in implementing its goals and tasks. It is precisely the party, which in accordance with Leninist thought is the chief factor in the preparation and conduct of the revolution, that makes the working class aware of its social situation and historical tasks and helps it to systematize its own elementally gained experience in economic-political struggle as well as infer conclusions on qualitatively new directions of action. It is precisely this role of the party--the role of the ideologist, organizer and leader--that enables the working class to act effectively, correctly anticipate the results of the steps taken and adapt forms of action to the changing reality.

Mutual relations between the working class and its party belong among the central problems of the theory and practice of scientific socialism, while the elucidation of the revolutionary role of the working class and its vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist party, in the historical process of the liquidation of capitalism and establishment of the communist formation is one of the crucial problems of the Marxist theory of social development. That is why analysis of the mutual relations between the working class and its party as well as the

identification of the mission to be fulfilled by the party in the historical process of the political preparation of the working class, stages of its ideological-political maturation and development of its class awareness, is of such essential importance from the standpoint of both the Marxist theory of social development and, perhaps above all, revolutionary practice.

#### The Marxist-Leninist Doctrine of Relations Between the Working Class and the Party

The objective class situation of the proletariat in the system of capitalist socioeconomic relations results in that the proletariat begins to grasp in an elemental manner its nature as a separate class as well as the economic goals of the struggle. The classics of Marxism have analyzed all the conditioning factors and interrelationships between economic and political goals and the planes of the class struggle. Lenin wrote: "Any class struggle inevitably turns into a political struggle, and hence the Social Democrats should combine inseparably both kinds of struggle into /the integral class struggle of the proletariat/ [emphasized]."/1/ This self-organization of workers into a class which was not as yet fully aware of class interests and its historical role had been of decisive importance to crystallizing the aims of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat.

The historical mission of the working class was perceived by the classics of Marxism as consisting above all in its objective aims, determined by the nature of the relations between the degree of the development of productive forces and production relations. Only a class that through its own labor directly generates the basic part of the national income of the industrialized societies, a class deprived of ownership of means of production, a class that is exploited and oppressed by the property-owning classes but itself does not exploit anyone--only such a class is capable of eliminating the class sources of inequalities and endowing with a new nature the existing social contradictions and conflicts. As a social class that consciously and deliberately strives for its liberation, the proletariat thereby gains the moral and political authority for leading the laboring and oppressed masses in the struggle to alter their political, social and economic situation.

Being desirous of pursuing their class interests while at the same time fulfilling their historical mission with respect to other social classes and strata, the working class and its vanguard, the revolutionary party, must first overthrow capitalism and seize political power, and then--in their own interest and that of the remaining segments of society--undertake building a classless society.

Regarding the class struggle of the proletariat, precisely this interpretation has become the basis of the Marxist-Leninist concept of the socialist revolution and the theory of class awareness. The founders of Marxism have always adhered to the position that, during its initial stage, the elemental conflict between workers and capitalists manifests itself solely in the economic struggle to improve the conditions for selling one's labor (size of wages, length of work day, treatment of workers in the workplace, etc.).

As the class conflict grows, the transition from lower to higher political and ideological planes and forms of the class struggle hinges decisively on the activities of the proletariat's vanguard organized into the revolutionary party.

According to the classics of Marxism, the activism of classes may be either of an "elemental" or "organized" ("aware") nature. They stressed that elemental activism is, in the historical perspective, the initial form of the awareness and activism of the working class. It relates chiefly to struggle for economic interests.

Lenin distinguished between two kinds of "elemental" activism: "rebellious" and "trade-unionist." Rebellious action is characterized by the destruction of machinery, etc. In "What is To Be Done?" he stated: "It is... more a manifestation of despair and vengefulness than a /struggle/ [emphasized]." For the trade-unionist level of development of the worker movement a typical form of struggle is strikes which, compared with rebellions, "display much greater glimmers of awareness." In Lenin's opinion, the strike struggle is "....a manifestation of rudiments of the class struggle, but precisely only of rudiments."/2/

Lenin believed that a working class that remains at the level of trade-unionist awareness is incapable of undertaking an equal struggle with the bourgeoisie. In order to accomplish the revolution, it must acquire class awareness, which he termed political awareness. Only such an awareness can endow the historical actions of the working class with a genuinely revolutionary nature.

At the same time, Lenin stressed that the working class is incapable of elevating itself independently above trade-unionist awareness. "The history of every country teaches that the working class can by dint of its own effort develop only trade-unionist awareness, i.e., the conviction of the necessity of forming unions, waging a struggle against entrepreneurs, demanding of the government that it promulgate this or that decree, etc. By contrast, the doctrine of socialism is an outgrowth of the philosophical, historical and economic theories that were developed by educated representatives of the property-owning classes, by the intelligentsia."/3/ The founder of the Soviet state stated: "Class political awareness can be brought to the worker /only from outside/ [emphasized], i.e., outside the sphere of economic struggle, outside the sphere of relations between workers and entrepreneurs."/4/

Lenin's grasp of this fact represented a major premise for establishing the worker party; for it is the party alone that is capable of shaping the workers' full awareness of their interests and their historical mission. Basing itself on Marxist-Leninist ideology, it is capable of creating socialist awareness and imbuing the working class with it. Thus, "imbuing" the worker movement with awareness, i.e., fostering the class awareness of the proletariat, is a cardinal task of the communist party. Without that party, the working class would be incapable of understanding the laws governing society and history, and thereby also incapable of accomplishing the

revolution and building a society based on principles of equality and social justice.

At the same time, Lenin stresses that: "The vanguard alone cannot achieve victory"/5/, that we also need awareness of the masses--the factor that is most decisive to the effectiveness of the history-creating mass social movements. He included in political awareness all those aspects of social awareness that fundamentally influence the behavior of the masses in the process of the revolution and socialist construction.

Characterizing the formative mechanisms of the working class and of the development of its class self-awareness, K. Marx distinguished between two principal stages of this process. During the first stage, when a growing number of workers occupies the same place in the social division of labor, has the same relationship with instruments of labor and similar wages and living standards, and exists in similar dependence on other classes, especially on the capitalist class, their interests are the same or greatly similar. This stage was termed by Marx the formation of the "class in itself," i.e., the formation of a social "community" that is not yet bound by internal bonds.

During the second stage of formation of the proletariat into an autonomous social class, these internal linkages arise and develop: the members of the "community" begin to grow aware of their situation, of the similarity of their interests, and they increasingly engage in collective action resulting in the establishment of their own institutions and organizations and the formulation of their own and separate ideology. This is the stage of the transition from the "class in itself" to the "class for itself."

Marx stated that the transformation of the working class from a "class in itself" to a "class for itself" hinges on its acquisition of awareness of its class interests and tasks as well as of its role vis a vis other classes and strata of laboring people.

The rise and activities of Marxist-Leninist worker parties representing the class interests of the proletariat and organizing its struggle against the bourgeoisie were of decisive importance to the development of political and ideological struggle and the evolution of the proletariat into a "class for itself." The rise of these parties inaugurated a new and important stage in the development of the revolutionary process. It was then that the working class became coalesced with its party--a coalescing that translates into reality a key thesis of the Marxist theory of social development. The following exposition of this thesis can be found in the works of Marx and Engels: "In face of this united power of the property-owning classes, the working class can act as a class only by constituting itself into a separate political party distinct from all the old parties established by the property-owning classes...: this self-constitution of the working class into a political party is necessary to assure the victory of the social revolution and the attainment of its ultimate goal--/the abolition of classes/ [emphasized]."/6/

It fell to Lenin's lot to elaborate the abovementioned contributions of Marx and Engels and adapt them to the new historical conditions of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. On the basis of the experience gained by the Russian and international communist movement, he created the model of the contemporary party of the working class.

Justifying the necessity of establishing and organizing the revolutionary party of the working class, Lenin pointed to the conditions and premises for its formation that objectively exist under capitalism. He wrote: "It is precisely with the object that the masses of a /particular/ [emphasized] class could learn... to pursue their own policy, that the organization of the leading elements of the class is needed."/7/ Elsewhere he added: "Without such an organization the proletariat is incapable of elevating itself to the level of conscious class struggle; without such an organization the worker movement is doomed to impotence."/8/

The party as the organized ideological vanguard of the working class which bases its activities on scientific analysis of development processes, formulates a program of action that is consonant with the historical interests of its class and other laboring classes.

The concept of the vanguard party was interpreted by Lenin as that of a party consisting of persons who lead in society and distinguish themselves by their social and political maturity, ideological ardor and commitment, and who are the natural leaders of the communities in which they are active. The vanguard principle of the party ensues from the Marxist-Leninist theory of the role of the working class as the prime mover of the socialist revolution and shaper of the communist society. Identifying the party with the vanguard of the working class and the leading segments of other laboring groups is a principle of the Leninist concept of the party of a new type. According to Lenin: "The criterions for the vanguard nature of the party should be: "First, the self-awareness of the proletarian vanguard and its loyalty to the revolution, its toughness, devotion and heroism. Second, its ability to establish contacts and attain rapprochement or even, so to speak, fusion with the broadest masses of the working people, primarily with the proletarian masses, /but also with the nonproletarian/ [emphasized] laboring masses. Third, the validity of the political leadership exercised by that vanguard, the validity of its political strategy and tactics, on condition that the broadest possible masses convince themselves of that validity /on the basis of their own experience/ [emphasized]."/9/

#### The Party's Role in the Process of Political Development of the Working Class

The Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the historical role of the working class and the dictatorship of the proletariat has been a fundamental part of the program concepts and practical activities of the Polish revolutionary worker movement, nearly from the very inception of that movement. Thus, when the conditions grew ripe for accomplishing the revolution, this doctrine became a postulate of an ideological-political nature as well as an empirical fact. On all these planes--of theory, ideology and empiricism--the party's role vis-a-vis the working class is conditioned by the following premises.

The principal premise for the party's exercise of the leading role in the process of socialist construction is the fact that it is precisely the working class that is its social basis. Thus, the party's social and ideological-moral ideals must be formulated so as to be consonant with the ideals and goals of all working people, and primarily of the working class. However, an argument of this kind becomes significant only when fundamental discrepancies between the formulated programs and aims and their implementation can be successfully avoided. If such discrepancies arise in political practice, the working class makes a justified protest. Being aware of its goals, it plays the leading role both during the struggle for power and in the process of socialist construction. The thesis can be formulated that the high and growing importance of the working class in civilizational-cultural changes is an objective law of socialist construction.

In exercising the functions of the vanguard of this class, the party, in its policies, increasingly implements the objective necessity of unremittingly strengthening the leading role of the working class in the development of the socialist society, on bearing in mind that its exercise of this role also depends on the growth of the ideological-moral maturity, educational level and culture of the class. The influence of the working class on the whole of societal life becomes the greater the more it bases its actions on revolutionary theory, the more its organizational role manifests itself in work and in political and social life.

The second important premise for the party's leading role in the process of building socialism is its ability to draft a development program for the country and society, a development strategy and forms and methods of action, that would rally round the party not only the working class but also the broadest masses of laboring people, and would build bonds of complete trust between the party and the society. The importance of such tasks is growing in measure with the ongoing process of building socialism and the complexity of the tasks that always were and are part of pioneering activities exploring new horizons for social development.

In formulating the strategic premises of the program for building socialism and accomplishing current tasks, the party of the working class should adhere to several essential principles. Two of them deserve special attention.

First, the party must skillfully mesh in the whole of its activities the universal laws of socialist construction with the particular historically evolved conditions, needs and traditions of this country and with the aspirations of all working people. Secondly, in outlining the directions of socialist development, the party must always be mindful of the need to continually mesh the longrange tasks of socialist construction with current tasks, and national interests with the interests of discrete classes and social groups, and strive to continually strengthen the processes promoting national integration. This requires, on the one hand, scientific Marxist-Leninist analysis of the social reality and, on the other, a continual renewal and consolidation of the party's bonds with the masses.

By implementing the principles mentioned above, the party thereby fulfills its leading and guiding role in the political, organizational and ideological-upbringing planes. The political plane is represented by the exercise of power in the socialist state; the organizational aspect refers to the party's practical activities in the process of socialist construction (inspiration and coordination of various domains of social life); and the ideological-upbringing plane is represented by the party's activities relating to shaping the socialist awareness of the society, disseminating the revolutionary ideology of the proletariat and socialist morality, etc.

Yet another and simply fundamental premise for the party's exercise of the leading role is its ability to maintain day-by-day solid bonds with the working class and the entire society. V. Lenin repeatedly criticized the irrelevant view that communism can be built by communists themselves. Such a great cause can be accomplished on condition that broad masses of working people are enlisted in its behalf. He wrote: "...the success of any serious revolutionary activity requires realizing--and knowing how to translate into reality--the truism that revolutionaries can merely act in the role of the vanguard of the genuinely vigorous and leading class. A vanguard fulfills its vanguard tasks only when it knows how not to isolate itself from the masses it directs, when it knows how to genuinely lead forward the broadest masses. Without an alliance with noncommunists in the most varied domains of activity, no successful communist construction is conceivable."/10/

Although the socialist transformation of society is accomplished in the interest of the huge majority, this truth is not immediately grasped by the entire working class, and the more so by the entire society. Hence, it is the party's task to organize the entire working class and the popular masses for energetic, creative action with the object of accomplishing the tasks of socialist construction and the development of the socialist system of society. The need for a consistent implementation of this Leninist principle of socialist construction was made sharply evident by the events of the recent period. The masses support the party if its policy reflects their interests, if it is confronted with their opinions, if the party continually keeps track of the mood of the working class and all working people so as to undertake on this basis optimal decisions and, as the need arises, revise its policy. Of course, this does not imply any mechanical adaptation to all opinions and moods of the society.

The bonds between the party and the masses are implemented both indirectly and directly. Indirect bonds are implemented through the mediation of the institutions and organizations of the political system of the socialist state. That is why the proper representation of discrete classes, strata and sociooccupational groups, and primarily of the working class, in the representative bodies of the state and among the officers of social organizations is such an important problem. Direct bonds are implemented through the participation of leading representatives of the masses, and chiefly of the working class, in the ranks of the party as well as in the adoption of crucial decisions.

Its bonds with the working class signify to the party the duty of winning workers over to it, of broadening the worker core of its membership, of assuring representative participation of workers among the authorities, of constantly relating its activities to the opinion of workers. The report of the Politburo at the National Conference of Delegates states: "The expansion of the party in this milieu is a fundamental task for the present and for the immediate future." Workers must be the backbone of the entire party, and worker party organizations must be its principal and decisive detachments providing an example of internal democracy, discipline, fidelity to principles and unity of words with deeds: this has been emphasized from the tribune of the conference as well as in its documents.

Close bonds between the party and the working class fortify its leading role in the society and at the same time provide the foundation for tapping the vast potential of the experience, knowledge and activism of this class. These bonds are a reflection of the growing socialist democracy and the broad participation of the working class in forming and fulfilling the program for socialist construction. At the same time, they enable the working class to participate in shaping the policy of the party and the socialist state.

The party should continually confront its program and intentions with the opinion of this class and, to a certain extent, of the entire society, because only then it can avoid taking erroneous decisions which ultimately could result in perturbing the bonds between it and the working class and the society. This requires day-by-day dialogue between the party and the masses, and the ever broader spread of the practice of consulting the society on important issues and problems, presenting them for public discussion before decisions are taken on them, and considering the opinions and postulates of working people in the longrange and current programs of action of the party and state. On the other hand, there is a need for educational work with the masses, intended to make a well-conceived and mature party program increasingly clear not only to the working class but also to the entire society and fully accepted by them.

The party must bear in mind that it is its duty to uncover promptly the causes of any nascent or existing perturbations of its bonds with the masses. The experience in building socialism in our country and other socialist countries demonstrates that a large number of varied causes of such perturbations may exist. They may arise when the party's policy is incorrect but the party does not perceive this or, owing to certain considerations, is unwilling to revise and adjust its policy; or when the party's policy is generally correct but the masses still have not sufficiently matured to understand and accept it, while the party itself does not want to or cannot remain patient until they have the chance to understand that policy; or when the party is building its authority not on the principle of mutual trust and persuasion of the masses but through the administrative approach, bypassing day-by-day political work among the masses; or when the party tolerates bureaucratic or technocratic methods of action of the machinery of state and the "self-liberation" of that machinery from party and public control; or, finally, when the party deviates from Leninist forms of intraparty life and methods of directing the party and the masses, as manifested in the autocracy of its leaders./11/

A critical analysis of deformations of this kind was carried out by the 9th Extraordinary PZPR Congress, which at the same time outlined a new program of action for the party. In order to fulfill its leading role in the state and guiding role in the society, and in order to strengthen itself politically and organizationally, the party must, on basing itself on democratic methods of action, consistently complete the processes of renewal in all the spheres of its functioning. A basic prerequisite for accomplishing these tasks is the restoration of harmonious bonds between the party and the working class and, as a consequence, the building of permanent bonds between the party and the entire society.

A favorable institutional framework for strengthening the bonds between the party and the working class is provided by the party statute adopted by the 9th Congress. This is also promoted by the composition of the PZPR Central Committee as elected by that congress, with workers now accounting for the greater part of its membership. This facilitates the exploration of new mechanisms for strengthening and refining mutual bonds between the party and the working class.

The growth of the guiding role of the party in the processes of socialist construction is affected by many factors.

1. As socialist construction enters upon increasingly higher stages of its development, the scale and complexity of its tasks increase, thus requiring a higher level of the party's leading role with respect to both the formulation of development programs, organizational activities and spurring of activism and the sociopolitical inspiration of the working class and the entire society as well as the exercise of political control over the implementation of these tasks.
2. The growth of the party's leading role is closely linked to the quantitative and qualitative development of the working class, which occurs in many planes simultaneously: political, economic and educational-cultural. Hence also the constant strengthening of the political position of the working class, which it achieves owing to its vanguard the Marxist-Leninist party, is of fundamental importance.
3. A major premise for strengthening the party's leading role is the fact that, despite the great complexity of the issues involved, increasingly broader segments of the society perceive the party as the representative of their interests and are taking an active part in fulfilling the national development programs it outlines. Large segments of the nonproletarian classes and strata of working people are switching to the political positions of the working class and accepting the principles and goals of socialism, and the most aware and politically active part of the peasant class and the intelligentsia is joining the PZPR and actively participating in shaping and implementing its policy.
4. The growth of the party's leading role is linked to refinements of its social composition. Guiding themselves by the Leninist principles of party

construction, the ruling parties, including the PZPR, attach special importance to the expansion and consolidation of the worker core of their membership and strive for the numerical growth of representatives of the working class, and particularly of its big-industry detachments, within the party's ranks.

The guiding role of the Marxist-Leninist party in the socialism-building society has its own profound historical justification; it also ensues from the actual position and role exercised by the party in the life of the society. The history of the class struggle demonstrates that the existence of a strong party representing the interests of the working class and influencing the masses is a fundamental condition for a successful building of socialism.

#### The PPR and the PZPR as the Vanguard of the Working Class in the Process of Socialist Construction

The Polish Worker Party (PPR) was the leading political force of the working class in the wartime and Occupation years. From its very inception in 1942 it became the organizer of the struggle of that class and its allies for national and social liberation, for political power in the state, for the accomplishment of revolutionary socioeconomic reforms, and for a new Poland whose development was based on a permanent alliance with the USSR and other socialist countries. The entire 40 years of development of People's Poland are closely linked to the revolutionary activity of the PPR, followed by that of the PZPR.

At the threshold of the new Poland, already at the First PPR Congress in December 1945, reference was made to the ideas contained in the 1943 program declaration of the PPR and to Lenin's thoughts concerning the class alliance, formulating the party's position on this issue: "We are the party of the working class,... this being the case, we defend its interests and express its aspirations.... For it is they, the workers, the peasants, the laboring intelligentsia and all those who work honestly and conscientiously, that constitute the nation, rather than the handful of exploiters standing above the nation."/12/ The policy of the Polish Worker Party as regards organizing and implementing the class alliance during the period of the struggle for social and national liberation as well as during the laying of the foundations of socialism in our country, laid the foundation for the development of People's Poland.

The culmination of this first stage of the struggle for People's Poland was the Congress of Worker Unity (15-21 December 1948), at which the Polish Worker Party and the Polish Socialist Party (PPS) merged into the Polish United Worker Party (PZPR).

The merger of the Polish worker movement and the rise of the PZPR enabled the Polish working class to undertake a broad-scale program for building socialism, that is, to accomplish the main tasks of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism.

The fundamental program-political document of socialism in our country became the Ideological Declaration of the PZPR, voted by the Unity Congress, which stated, among other things: "People's democracy is the road to socialism. It is a new form of power held by the laboring masses headed by the working class, and it has arisen owing to the historical situation and thanks to the reliance on the USSR."/13/

The systemic foundations of People's Poland were confirmed in the text of the PRL Constitution voted by the Parliament on 22 July 1952, which states: "The Polish People's Republic is a country of people's democracy" and power in it "...belongs to the working people of town and country."

Summing up these reflections, it can be stated that the process of the formation of People's Poland was crowned, in political terms, by the merger of the worker movement, and in legal terms, by the adoption of the Constitution in 1952. This process has resulted in a political system that harmoniously combines Polish traditions with the universal laws of society and the socialist state.

A factor that markedly strengthened the political and legal-systemic standing of the people's rule was the economic policy, and particularly the strategy of industrializing the country. Socialist industrialization was a particularly important task of the party, the state and the entire nation in the late 1940s and early 1950s.

Contrary to the opinion of political enemies who deny any progress and view our postwar history as merely a succession of failures, the country's socio-economic development has been increasingly evident despite difficulties and shortcomings. The general living standards of the Polish society have also been rising, though not uniformly and not without obstacles. Obviously, had not it been for the mistakes and distortions in the actions of the party and state, the results of the collective effort would of a certainty have been still greater. Even so, the fundamental principles and systemic goals of socialism have been systematically translated into reality.

The guiding force in all these changes, so radically transforming the nation's life, had been at first the PPR and the PPS and subsequently the PZPR, in close collaboration with organized popular and democratic movement.

The PPR had strived for the stabilization and perpetuation of achievements of the revolution as well as for deepening revolutionary processes. The activities of that party, which were tailored to objective laws of social development and particular historical conditions that determine the aims and methods of socialist transformations at given stages, gained growing public support with each year, as reflected in the political, production and cultural activism of working people. On this basis, the party operated as the fundamental factor inspiring and organizing the development of socialist construction.

The aim of the PZPR from its inception has been to lead the working class and the nation in building socialism. But in itself the desire to lead is not

enough to assure a genuine and permanent leading political role of the party in the life of the nation. If the party is to be acknowledged and accepted as the leader by the working class and the entire society, specific conditions such as the following must be met: a deeply humanistic nature of the party's ideology and program; support by the working class and other strata of working people and the nation; a proper composition of party membership; and achievements in civilization and culture attained under the party's leadership.

As in all other socialism-building countries, in Poland the leading role of the party hinges on its basing itself on the working class. The party has, as demonstrated by all of its documents throughout the history of People's Poland till now, never established for the working class any goals different and separate from those set for the other classes and strata of our society. The resolutions of all party congresses, outlining the directions of Poland's socialist development, have always closely linked the interests and tasks of the working class to the interests and tasks of the other classes and social strata of our nation. Hence also the party could claim: "The historical experience of our nation fully confirms the justice of the fundamental principle of Marxism-Leninism, which states that the working class was, is and remains the leading force in societal development. It is only under its leadership and in alliance with it that the other social classes, groups and strata can fulfill a historically progressive role."/14/

Throughout the existence of People's Poland the alliance of the working class with the peasantry and the laboring intelligentsia has been steadily growing stronger. The importance of this alliance is stressed forcefully in all the program documents of the PZPR. In the report to the 2nd PZPR Congress (1954) we read: "The backbone and motive power of our revolutionary transformations was and is the worker-peasant alliance led by the working class. During decades of struggle against capitalism and Fascism the working class has been consolidating its alliance with the basic masses of the laboring peasantry. The expansion, strengthening and deepening of this alliance is a cardinal aim of the policy of the people's rule as well as the instrument of its might and accomplishments."/15/ At the 5th Party Congress (1968) the Central Committee stated in its program report: "Owing to the changes which we carried out in the economic-social structure of our country, a society has arisen in which the fundamental goals and interests of social classes and strata are convergent.... The principal classes of our society, namely, workers, peasants and the laboring intelligentsia, have no separate and conflicting interests as regards the fundamental aspects of the socioeconomic system and political principles of the state."/16/ The validity of this program declaration was confirmed by discussions at subsequent party congresses.

The party's political thought and practical activities were and are always accompanied by a profound awareness of the unremitting need to develop and strengthen the unity of the Polish nation. The principal role in the integrative processes within our nation was and is being played by the working class. Its ideology, evolved during the development of the worker movement, and its aspirations, which in the last 100 years determined the direction of the struggle for Poland's national and social liberation, determine the

direction in which the awareness of the entire nation evolves in the process of socialist construction.

The socialist awareness of the working class and the transformations taking place on the soil of socialist systemic principles and social ideals provide the foundation for the ultimate elimination of all class divisions and consistent implementation of the principles of equality and social justice.

The party's extensive and many-sided work to promote and deepen the integration of the society ensues from the nature of the functions it fulfills, among which service to the working class and the nation is the paramount task.

The principles of consonance between the party's program and policy and the interests of the working class, the party's close bonds with the working class and the entire society, and unity of the party, as well as the need for the constant growth of the political activism of workers in party activities, have always been included in a place of honor in all program documents of the PZPR.

However, during some periods of the party's activities these basic principles have not been consistently followed in everyday political practice. What is more, it sometimes happened that they were drastically violated by central and local party echelons, which simply ignored them. Violations of the democratic principles of the party's activities have always resulted in acute social conflicts due to the dissatisfaction of a substantial segment of the working class with the methods whereby the party exercised its leading and guiding political role in the state and the society. But even in times of conflicts, during a crisis as deep as the recent one, the working class was, regardless of its internal differentiation, always overwhelmingly aware of national interests and identified itself with them. The goals and ideals of socialism also have always been close to it. By the same token, the working class was and is the main pillar of the party and its principal social base. This applies not only to the working class concentrated within major industrial centers but also to workers employed in medium and small plants.

A measure of the importance attached by the PZPR's leadership to tightening the bonds with the working class and the laboring masses was the 16th Plenum of the Central Committee (2-3 June 1984), whose deliberations were held with the participation of more than 80 invited party and nonparty workers. That plenum was entirely devoted to problems of the working class and of strengthening its leading role. As declared in the closing speech by first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski: "It has become a kind of workers' parliament, yet another worker conference elevated to a high party level; it has become a great consultation."/17/ The Politburo report presented at that plenum stated: "History demonstrates that socialism cannot be built in the absence of the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party. The party secures the organization and political unity of the working class, indispensable to the struggle for socialism and its development, and the leading role of that class in the society, and it assures the effectiveness of action of that class." And further: "The party is an active part of the working class, of working people. It is armed with an ideology

which has made it possible to bring about a historic turning point; it has promoted the advancement of the working class. Its role and position serve to translate into reality national desires and ideals"/18/.

The growing role of the working class and its party in the life of the Polish nation results from the complex whole of the conditions of the construction of a new system of society. Exercising the leading role in the socialism-building society is an unusually difficult task: it requires unremitting activism of the entire party and makes obligatory the continual refinement of the performance of all its elements as well as a creative elaboration of forms and methods of action.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, "Works" [in Polish translation], *Ksiazka i Wiedza*, Vol 4, 1953, p 220.
2. Ibid., Vol 5, 1950, p 410.
3. Ibid., p 411.
4. Ibid., p 463.
5. Ibid., Vol 31, 1955, p 79.
6. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works" [in Polish translation], *Ksiazka i Wiedza*, Vol 17, 1968, pp 481-482.
7. Lenin, op. cit., Vol 19, 1950, p 421.
8. Ibid., Vol 4, p 391.
9. Ibid., Vol 31, p 9.
10. Ibid., Vol 33, 1957, pp 231-231.
11. Cf. J. Waclawek, "O partii. Studia i szkice" [On the Party: Studies and Sketches"], Warsaw, 1974, p 79.
12. "Ku nowej Polsce. I Zjazd Polskiej Partii Robotniczej, 6-13 XII 1945 r. Sprawozdanie polityczne wygłoszone na zjeździe przez W. Gomulke ('Wiesława')" [Toward a New Poland. The First Congress of the Polish United Workers Party, 6-13 December 1945. Political Report Presented at the Congress by W. Gomulka ("Wiesław")], Warsaw, 1945, pp 84, 136.
13. "Podstawy ideologiczne PZPR" [Ideological Principles of the PZPR], Warsaw, 1949, p 135.
14. "Thirty Years of People's Poland. Theses of the PZPR Central Committee," *NOWE DROGI*, No 3, 1974, p 30.

15. "II Zjazd PZPR. Sprawozdanie Komitetu Centralnego PZPR. Referat wygłoszony przez B. Bieruta" [Second PZPR Congress. Report of the PZPR Central Committee. Report Presented by B. Bierut], Ksiazka i Wiedza, 1954, p 21.
16. "V Zjazd PZPR. Sprawozdanie Komitetu Centralnego oraz zadania partii w dziedzinie umacniania socjalizmu i dalszego rozwoju PRL" [Fifth PZPR Congress. Report of the Central Committee and the Party's Tasks as Regards Strengthening Socialism and the Further Development of the PRL], Ksiazka i Wiedza, 1969, pp 103, 179.
17. TRYBUNA LUDU, 5 June 1984.
18. Ibid., 4 June 1984.

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PARTY ACTIVITY IN SECURITY SERVICE OUTLINED

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 17, 15 Aug 84 pp 8, 9

[Article by Edward Grzelak: "Party Activity in the Security Organs: Each Day Attitudes Are Being Verified"]

[Text] When we stop to reflect on, for instance, the situation in the party, when we talk and write about its activities, more often than not we have in mind basic or branch party organizations in workplaces or in the countryside, or--fairly frequently--echelons at various levels. Sometimes the media mentions "the party" in the armed forces. But, as a rule, organizations which band Security Service officers together draw our attention solely on the day of their festivities. This is a bad tradition, and bad practice.

Every modern state has its own security service. The state gives it protection and respect. Societies are concerned with its activities. Bourgeois state authorities use their security services to suppress their own worker and democratic movements. Some states resort to them in an attempt at brutal interference in other countries' affairs, the socialist ones above all. They make no bones about it. They are proud of their security service's accomplishments, they freely talk and write about them.

Why is it different in our country, why does it have to be different? Why should we not write in our press, or talk on TV, about the activity of our own people's Security Service, which--after all--protects our worker-peasant socialist state, that is to say, protects us? Why do we have to wait for Security Service Day to say something about the party activity among its officers? Why do we not acquaint both the party and the public with the proudest chapters in our Security Service's history? With its most successful activities? With its genuinely heroic deeds? They form an integral part of the party. They are right to say about their line of work: "Our professional work is, above all, a service rendered to the party."

The party inspired the creation of the organs

The Security Service was created as part of the state administration; it was inspired by our party, and by nobody else. Forty years ago, its task consisted of contributing to the creation of conditions auspicious for the implementation of the program of the Polish Committee of National Liberation,

while today it amounts to protecting the state and the public against activities of the enemy, both domestic and foreign. The security organs have always served the party, in their everyday practice they have implemented the party line and the Politburo decisions that set up current tasks, and have defended the principle of the leading role of the party.

This truth cannot be undermined by the fact that, from 1949 to 1955, one group inside the leadership of the party and of the Ministry of Public Security, having betrayed the interests of the working class, became the moving spirit behind the repression of the former party leadership under Comrade Wladyslaw Gomulka, as well as of other party and democratic leaders, in some cases veterans of the struggle for Poland's liberation. "Without belittling the responsibility of prominent leaders (of the party and of the leadership of the Ministry of Public Security--author's note) for that area of activity, including cases of infringing the rule of law--from which appropriate consequences were drawn in 1956-57--one has to admit," affirms the Report on the Causes and Course of Social Conflicts in the History of People's Poland, "that in Poland similar infringements have occurred on a limited scale, as far as their depth and effects are concerned. It should also be pointed out that the overwhelming majority of officers employed in the law-enforcement organs have acted in good faith, fought against a genuine enemy, and were dedicated to protecting the newly born people's state."

Party members, officers, and employees of the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MSW] have their own party organization. It is led by a committee whose powers are similar to those of PZPR district committees in the cities. Such a solution derives from some special features of the MSW line of work, as well as from the numerical strength of party members. In January 1984 our party organization was granted the status of an enterprise committee, while our branch organizations got the status of basic party organizations, we are told by Comrade Kazimierz Maj, secretary of the PZPR Enterprise Committee. According to other party leaders in the Security Service, it has been a good solution. Six months' experience confirms that the right decision has been made. A large basic party organization is less effective; things go better within smaller structures. The effects are already there, they claim.

The Security Service has a difficult and responsible job. Therefore, the activities of party organizations and committees, too, are by no means easy. They are responsible to the central party bodies for their rank and file, and together with the superior service officers, for the level of their professional work, and also for their involvement in party activities.

In principle, all the enterprise committees and basic party organizations have similar duties. Each enterprise committee and each basic party organization, however, has its own specific nature, which depends--to a certain extent--on the character of their unit's tasks. I had the opportunity to learn about the activities of one enterprise committee and of several party organizations in one such unit, and to interview Lt Col Kazimierz Maj, first secretary of the Enterprise Committee; Lt Piotr Galuszka, organizational

secretary; and Lt Jerzy Kretkowski, ideological secretary. Other comrades, too, participated in our conversation. Here, in the Enterprise Committee and in each of the basic party organizations, there are many seasoned party members. The Enterprise Committee includes one member of a Central Committee commission, three members of the PZPR Provincial Committee, four members of district committees, as well as a considerable number of lecturers affiliated with these bodies.

When talking to such high-ranking officers of the Security Service, who are at the same time party activists, one would like to pose many questions concerning the nature and the contents of party activity, both in the Enterprise Committee and in the various basic party organizations. Which questions should be posed first, which ones left for another meeting? It is a problem. Let us, therefore, be content with certain points.

Cadres decide everything. Always and everywhere, we would like to have the best cadres, hence the question: Who are the officers of the Security Service? What are they like in this unit? The answer is a direct and an honest one.

They are well educated and bright. Above all, they are dedicated to the working class and to socialism, ideologically motivated, of high moral standards. They are brave, and ready to run calculated risks. Others have no place here.

The unit employs just such people, "old men" and youngsters, those who started in 1944 or 1945, and also many who were just born at the time when Col Zygmunt Rybacki, a seasoned officer of the Security Service and a prominent party activist, joined the party. Some are even younger. In those years of the Polish Committee of National Liberation, the Security Service was formed out of Polish Workers' Party members, members of the People's Guard and the People's Army, soldiers and officers of the Polish Armed Forces--usually sons of workers, laborers, and peasants.

Now, 40 years later, the characteristic feature of the entire team is their great patriotism and dedication--one can feel it during the conversation--their ideological involvement with socialism, class origin, unblemished moral posture. In all other respects they are totally different, says the first secretary. After all, the older cadres, who had carried the burden of this activity during the war, are melting away. A fairly large part of the cadres was recruited in the 1950's, from members of the Union of Fighting Youth and the Union of Polish Youth; for them, too, that was not an easy period. Alas, in the first stage of their service, they too encountered treason and provocation, which--as is well known--penetrated even the inside ranks of the apparatus, so important for state security; see, e.g., the Swiatlo case.

The most numerous group consists of those who joined the service under the most difficult--in some respects--circumstances, namely, in recent years, when all-out enemy pressure pushed our state and our society to the brink of disaster. They were not given to share the enthusiasm of regained

freedom, of efficient reconstruction, or of a victory over the enemy. They could learn optimism solely from the experience of their elders; it protected them against breakdown. But they have been quick to grasp the truth: their country, the party, socialism, needed them, for better or for worse.

As Comrade Gen Czeslaw Kiszczak, candidate member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee and minister of internal affairs, pointed out in one of his pronouncements, "The decision to join the ranks of the service amounts simply to a choice of profession. The nature of our ministry, the tasks it carries out, and the role it plays all mean that such a decision is simultaneously a political declaration. An employee of our ministry is not just a state functionary and a qualified expert, but also an ideologically dedicated fighter for the socialist cause, loyal to the party and to the people's power, a man of ideological involvement, high sense of professional ethos, humanism, and scientific worldview. Hence the sense of responsibility, discipline, self-sacrifice, and diligence of our cadres."

Let us add that these are people for whom "good intentions" are no longer a substitute for high-school graduation. They come from all professions, from virtually all university-level schools, from various academic centers, including foreign universities, by no means solely in the socialist countries. Some of them have gone through the whole educational cycle inside the service, from elementary school to a post-graduate degree granted by a civilian or a service university; some are academic teachers.

#### The second test

During our conversation reminiscences, in some cases bitter ones, are sparked with a sense of well-discharged duty. After all, who did not empathize with the August [1980] protests of the working class? In their case, however, empathy was tinged with many anxieties. They were well aware of the situation which provoked the "outburst of dissatisfaction," and they did not ignore the activities of the Committee for the Defense of the Workers [KOR], later the KOR Committee for Self-Defense [KSS-KOR]. For several years they supplied the then-existing echelons of the party and the state leadership with increasingly extensive information on the subversive plans of imperialist forces, and on the deteriorating economic situation, as well as on the growing dissatisfaction of the working class and the activities of the underground structures. "Here, in our unit, the domestic situation was being analyzed, indicating that the threat was continuously growing. At a district party conference, I spoke about that threat," says Colonel Rybacki. "I inquired whether our information was reaching the ear of the party leadership. I was assured it was." And, indeed, it was. But some of those decisionmaking bodies in the party and the state leadership chose to ignore it. It even happened that our letters with this information were returned unopened. That was depressing. Like a major part of the party apparatus, we knew what was in the offing. Given the circumstances of that period, counter-activity was still quite possible.

But their sense of satisfaction is justified, and has its grounds. Despite many faults and shortcomings, the diligent activity accomplished here has

brought results. It was in the years of crisis that the internal affairs organs, under the watchful eye of the new, professional leadership of the ministry, passed their second, extremely difficult test. It happened on 13 December 1981. As the comrades say, "Our prognoses and evaluations, prepared according to the orders given by Comrade Czeslaw Kiszcza and taken seriously by the party and the state leadership under Wojciech Jaruzelski, undoubtedly contributed to averting counterrevolution, to preventing an unavoidable civil war."

The activities of our services, as well as our party activities, have been highly recommended by the top party and state bodies. We have received expressions of recognition from the Sejm, from the PZPR Central Committee, and from the Politburo. We have been frequently thanked by Comrade Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and prime minister. The National Conference of [Party] Delegates addressed words of gratitude to us. This gives us satisfaction.

Party duties: Which are the most important?

As I have mentioned before, in this unit the tasks of the party echelons and of the basic party organizations are especially difficult. They are also not easy to rank: which are the more important ones? In principle, after all, all carry the same weight!

Nevertheless, it seems to me that the most important thing is the shaping of, and concern for, the sense of high responsibility in carrying out professional duties; it should be ranked first. In this line of work the responsibility is not to be taken lightly. Its effects, after all--the information, the reports on hostile forces activity, the analyses, the evaluation of the ongoing situation taking into account its various contexts, etc.--are the major components of the totality of information which provides the basis for decisions made by the top party and government bodies.

In this line of work one cannot indulge even in the slightest arbitrariness, in any kind of fortune-telling from coffee grounds. Minor frivolity might have harmful consequences. Everything has to be thoroughly checked and analyzed. To illustrate the point, the comrades recall the day of 13 December 1981. Had hostile cells been dismissed or left in peace, things might have turned out very differently. Or take another issue: the suspension and later the lifting of martial law. Here, on the contrary, overestimation of hostile forces might have been most damaging politically. The assessments prepared by this unit were also taken into consideration when last year's amnesty, and the most recent one, were being prepared.

Those examples should certainly suffice to indicate the significance of their sense of responsibility. The leadership of the ministry and of various units is most concerned with promoting this sense among the entire staff. But it is also the duty of the party organization and of its committees: they bear responsibility for their members.

Another duty, by no means less important, involves continuous concern for the ideological and political consciousness of each officer. Each one of us is told he needs profound Marxist-Leninist knowledge, not limited to one area only: political science, of course, but also sociology; general history, yes, but also the history of Poland, modern history above all. Profound understanding of party and government policies, familiarity with everything that goes on, worldwide and in our country, are also needed.

We do not mean, obviously, any "rough estimate": in this line of work things must be known with precision. One has to know the enemy's strategy, his changing concepts and specific actions, and also to be able to prepare a matter-of-fact operational analysis, including suggestions for counteractivity. For these reasons, party organizations and their committees must continuously pay heed to ideological, party, and professional training, to self-education, to readership, to improving the working equipment of each party member.

Each member of the staff needs education and high ideological consciousness, both here, inside the service, and in his outside activities. Various opinions notwithstanding, in this line of work there are not only enemies but actions of a politically prophylactic nature as well. Repression is the last resort. Education and consciousness are therefore also necessary when officers of this unit appear as lecturers on behalf of the Central Committee or of provincial and district committees. Such is their professional and party duty. Lecturers' conferences are mutually stimulating. Few people realize that the activity of MSW lecturers, including those from this unit, has been highly praised by the PZPR Central Committee and by the Warsaw Committee. Many among them have been awarded numerous diplomas, some MSW lecturers have received TRYBUNA LUDU awards. "But we are most happy," my interlocutors affirm, "that our lecturers are so highly valued by the work forces in Warsaw enterprises, and, to tell the truth, by those outside Warsaw as well."

#### High involvement: Result of good internal relationship

A Security Service officer must embody exceptional involvement with both his professional duties and his party tasks. And they actually do so. It is easy to be convinced when one keeps in mind the long-standing campaign against them, which has been going on for many years, organized by hostile forces, both domestic and foreign. After all, they are normal people, with their troubles, big and small. Like everybody else, they have their problems, with housing, for instance--they have to wait a dozen years or more for an apartment; they can enjoy vacations once every few years, go to a rest home once in 5 years, they have families, their kids need a father and a mother, while their work--or, to be more precise, their service--can keep them for 10, 12, or 15 hours a day. The Officers' Council copes with their social problems, and the party committee assists. But in their moments of need they need direct help, they need support from their party comrades, from their colleagues. The party Enterprise Committee and members of the executive boards of the basic party organizations take good care to provide such help to all those who need it.

The posture of involvement is partly the effect of interhuman relationship, or relations between superior officers and their subordinates, of teamwork, but also of genuine party activity. In recent years its level in this unit has gone up considerably. A contributory factor was the activity of the political-educational branch, introduced here following the experience of the armed forces. According to Lt Col Boleslaw Pogodzinski, a political-educational officer and member of the Enterprise Committee, "Mutual assistance and self-reliance bring desirable effects. Ideological and educational activities are particularly significant under the circumstances of intensified attempts at subversive pressure on officers, soldiers, and the civilian staff of the ministry, as well as on their families, on the part of foreign and domestic antisocialist centers. That is what I am trying to promote, together with the Enterprise Committee and the various basic party organizations." He goes on to say: "In this respect we, the Enterprise Committee and the political-educational branch, are carrying a heavy burden in our relationship with younger officers, with youth and social organizations. We share a good understanding; our duties, after all, are aimed at the same goals."

The Enterprise Committee and the various basic party organizations, together with the superior officers and the political-educational apparatus, also pay major attention to the above-mentioned problem of interhuman relations in working teams. Here such relations simply have to be good, party-style, and friendly. Without this, their work would be difficult to imagine. Generally speaking, it is actually good. "But we have to pay attention to it," they say. "There are, after all, many, perhaps too many, grounds for tension and sharp clashes. This derives from the character of duties carried out here. In this line of work conflicts or polemics are a positive occurrence, clashes of opinions are necessary. They often concern difficult, complex issues, e.g., specific working plans, evolving assessment of a specific situation, etc. But such arguments should not provoke animosity."

Does animosity occur? Sporadically, it does. People differ in their tempers or experience, ambitions sometimes raise tempers, people are people. Later things get back to normal. After all, animosity does no good. "People should argue about their reasons," says Col Z. Rybarski. "The discussion should end with working out specific means to solve the problems, with a consensus of opinion on the given issue." Obviously, this depends on the culture of collaboration within the working team. The Enterprise Committee is concerned with this culture, tries to shape and promote it, tries to consolidate earlier accomplishments.

No shortcomings are kept secret here

In recent years the MSW has consolidated its activities and acquired new experience. This can be also said of the unit, whose party representatives I have interviewed. The Enterprise Committee and the various basic party organizations have gained strength. In 1981-84, 26 new members have been admitted to the party. But they make no secret of their shortcomings and deficiencies, and admit that a lot still remains to be done.

This concerns, above all, better care for improved quality of professional and party activities of individual officers in the unit. There is a need for improvement of party activities, for a search for new forms and methods of ideological and educational work. Old forms and methods are not effective anymore. They try, therefore, to tighten the ties with the working class and with the public, even though, by now, such ties are even closer than anywhere else, than in many city party echelons.

Cases, however isolated, of unsatisfactory levels of political and historical education, which still occur among some officers, should also be treated with more zeal. Here the arcana of politics should be perfectly known. Sometimes problems of professional discipline do emerge. But the superior officers, the [party] organizations, and other civic bodies certainly should evince more concern for the officers' condition. "That may be addressed to us as well," confirms the first secretary, "we are the ones responsible, because of our party functions, even though discharged without remuneration. But what the Enterprise Committee has already accomplished I think is quite an achievement."

The Security Service has well earned the right to celebrate its own 40th anniversary, together with that of the entire nation. The festivities evoke profound reflection. My interlocutors, although of different age, do not think those years have been squandered. Present-day Poland, they say, does not resemble yesterday's country, the one in the first post-war years. To paraphrase Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski's words, present-day Poland is the same country, but does not look the same. For them, those have been indeed years of major effort, and they do not begrudge it. Are they in for years of easier service in the future?

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POLAND

FOREIGN, DOMESTIC ENEMIES ASSESSED

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[Article by Miroslaw Karwat: "On 'Friends of Workers'"]

[Text] The Polish worker nowadays has so many friends and sympathizers that it is to him a pain in the neck. They also include such prominent figures as Ronald Reagan, Margaret Thatcher, Axel Springer, etc. There is virtually no political force influencing the situation in Poland that does not appeal to workers. Relations with political friends are about the same as relations among people: some are helpful, supportive and critical but also protective, while others flatter, stultify, insult and exploit. Some want to serve workers and respect their personhood, elevate them to the dignity of the creator and proprietor, while others want to reify them and ply their own policies at their expense, decide everything without consulting them. False friends reveal themselves in that their interests, intentions and deeds totally diverge from their words and from the interests of those whom they want to "help." But often they reveal themselves only ex post facto. The more exciting the times, the more numerous the conflicts become and the easier it is for demagogues, goldenvoiced old prophets in a new reincarnation, heroes of a single season, to gain influence and exercise their "charm." To the Marxist the criterion of the objective nature of social forces is not declarations, not the actually used terminology (especially the fashionable, catchy, easily spreading phrases rewarded with applause), but real interests. Thus, one can tell when friends of workers are spoken of in inverted commas and when are they spoken of without these commas.

Who are the "friends of workers"?

The Prototype: "Friends of the People"

The present-day "friends of workers" resemble after a fashion the quondam "friends of the people." If some may not remember what kind of a social type that was, let me willingly offer a reminder. A "friend of the people" is someone who neither is himself derived from the common folk nor belongs to it nor wants to belong to it (in order to avoid becoming *declassé*), but who ardently wants to help it, and that in order to gain rather than lose thereby. The "friend of the people" nourishes ardent feelings for the people: sympathy ("The poor, simple people!"), admiration ("It is amazing how they can live

like that and endure it all"), and a soupcon of fear ("what would happen if they rise up?"), but he also has feels guilt because he does not share the miserable lot of the common folk. Perhaps for this very reason he is eager to help somehow, to do some good deed.

The most classical types of "friends of the people" derive from the preplebeian eras when the people were quiet, did not make too much noise, revolted rarely, were godfearing and respected temporal and divine laws. An earlier type had been the charitable almsgiver and a later type the philanthropist. For charity is the best way of doing good and being good within the framework of an immutable temporal order, by means of crumbs from the master's table and offal. Subsequent varieties of "friends of the people" were scared revolutionaries under duress and (progressive-conservative-reactionary) semiradicals, concerned chiefly over moderating the fury of the people once unrests take place. For while their predecessors instructed the common folk to be quiet and await the master's pleasure, they feared that the common folk might, on rebelling, accidentally try to change the world too much. They appeal: "Leave it to us. We'll accomplish that revolution for you, and properly speaking we'll attend to everything through bargaining, without a revolution, and relieve misery." The chief function of these quasiradicals is to make oppression and exploitation more bearable and sympathetic and rebellion less rebellious. And lastly there is the eternal, supratemporal as it were, type of "friends of the people"--the well-meaning and good-natured religious hypocrite who is eager to bend the Heavens toward everyone, conciliate all and, the more so, reconcile the common folk to its lot and masters. He specializes in consolation, in restraining blasphemers, in promises of a better life after death and in anathematizing dissenters and troublemakers.

All these "friends of the people," including the present-day "friends of workers," share one trait in common: They consider themselves better than the people (the workers), because they are wiser and subtler (they struggle not for some bread but for truth) and more indispensable to society, irreplaceable, and, of course, disinterested. The friends of the people ("friends of workers") always know better how to help the people and always want to accomplish it for the people instead of by the people. In the best case, once they let the people into its own affairs, they demand only trust and obedience. Both in their ends and in their means they essentially accept deeply the "innate" division of society into those who work and those who live in plenty; those who produce and those who rule. The people is here to work and not to engage in politicking, and its friends are here to think and rule.

#### Who Are the "Friends of Workers"?

The present-day "friends of workers" are specific latter-day varieties of friends of the people. They are aware that workers are not passive, ignorant simpletons, and that they by now realize and appreciate their political power and the potential latent in their social radicalism. Unlike their predecessors, they willingly radicalize workers--of course in order to make of them a ram battering in the desired direction. They simply want to feather their own interests, including antiworker interests, by manipulating workers.

The specific nature of the "friends of workers" manifests itself in the very circumstances under which they appear. They appear to the world and workers after rule by workers already appears and functions. It is precisely this kind of rule that they do not want. They want to use workers as a cat's paw in order to overthrow the rule of workers while at the same time duping them with myths of freedom of personality, sovereignty, autonomy, self-government and-- and how!--material plenty, the economic miracle...outside and and despite the worker-peasant state. Fortune smiles on them whenever the bonds between the working class and its political and ideological representation loosen and get perturbed, whenever influence on the economy, politics and ideology is partially seized by petty-bourgeois and neocapitalist elements, whenever its mistakes are turned against the socialist state and reduce its social base. It is then already that these "friends of workers" can "defend" workers. They "defend" workers against themselves. The greatest desire of the "friends of workers" is that workers would cease to be workers, objectively as well, in the sphere of self-awareness and organization. Let workers aspire to the role of petty proprietors or turn into petty speculators. Let workers acquire bourgeois values: moneygrubbing and making a fetish of money and conspicuous as well as excessive consumption: let them relate all this not to their own collective work but to private, even if criminal, initiative. Such "moral tenets" are being daily inculcated to workers by many respected ideological currents and institutions. The purpose of the "friends" is to divide and fragment the working class, just as they intend to divide the economy into subsectors and plants and "merge" or denationalize the latter. There will not be a working class anymore: there will only be the employees of discrete plants and regions, members of discrete workforces and occupations. There will be no more class solidarity (at most, there will be solidarity of "all" in the struggle against the authorities), no more class awareness, to be replaced by "supraclass" and "ultranational" awareness. The worker who worships Mammon and despises his own work and that of others and looks toward the West, hoping for crumbs from its table and a miracle in peripheral capitalism: such is the ideal of his "friends." What is still also needed is to deprive the worker of his deepest feeling of identity and dignity as the producer. It is not enough for him to lose his feeling of class identity. He should also lose the dignity of being the producer and creator. He should not care what he is doing and how, and at what and whose cost: he should be convinced that it all is not for himself. As for all those sins, the inefficient system may be blamed for them anyway. The awareness that one lives according to one's work, that consumption and distribution depend on the level of production, is to be supplanted with the mentality of the mendicant and the grifter, with the philosophy of "live now," etc. This is to serve well those who live off private ownership, particularly the wheeler-dealers, but not quite those who derive their living solely from work.

Here a deep affinity reveals itself between the "friends of workers" and the quondam "friends of the people." They prey on the plebeian stereotypes of a world divided into the poor and the rich, into the people and the authorities, the masters, and in their turn into good and bad masters. The bad "masters" are the demonic domestic prominent personages. They and, together with them, the entire system should be overthrown. It is instead the "good masters" who should be turned to for aid: "good masters" who, of a certainty, would be

better to Polish workers than to their own workers, if only out of Christian motives and owing to their obvious admiration of the brave Poles. Inside this country, wholesale dismantling and looting should proceed, and what cannot be extorted should be destroyed, while at the same time a beggar's hand asking for more should be stretched to those good foreign prominent personages. But while their aid and pledges are to be accepted, a growing independence should be advocated at the same time. This political philosophy has found its fervent standardbearer in that most consummate product of the work of the "friends of workers"--in the person of the "worker" Walesa. It was that worker who at the same time became the guarantor of the credibility of his friends as "friends of workers." It is not by accident and not without proof that I write "worker" in inverted commas when speaking of that winner of every possible prize: his own utterances and known documents confirm how much a worker and how much a petty grifter he is in his mentality.

The "friends of workers" have tremendous luck and comfort in one thing, which is related to the nature of the present historical era. They need not emulate the guises of "friends of the people." For example, they do not have to play the snob about the sentimental pastoral games of the grand seigneurs, and they do not have to emulate the quondam lovers of the peasantry by wearing homespun clothes and bast shoes. Why make oneself ridiculous now that workers themselves wear suits? Instead, they can print most authentic reportages and show films about most authentic workers. But above all, instead of condescending, they now display their goodwill to their wards in a different manner. They condone their familiarity and admit them to the company of the haut monde. They honor, reward and cite workers and include them in once exclusive circles of admirers of the marshal [Pilsudski] and other eminent figures. The same company is kept by our native nobility, their faithful servitors, the petty-intelligentsia crowd with the aspirations of magnates, and the worker and peasant plebs which itself wants to receive patents of nobility, so to speak, from the hands of the originals themselves and nobody else.

The "friends of workers" can be divided into professional, pious and spontaneous ones, and ultraleftist ones as well.

#### Professional "Friends of Workers"

The professional "friends of workers" are professional anticomunist politicians who, however, unlike their traditional counterparts, aspire primarily to gain influence over the working class. They want to canalize the social radicalism and criticism of workers so as to transform the latter from a revolutionary force into the main shock troop of the counterrevolution. These anticomunists are somewhat more perceptive than their colleagues: they realize that the revolt of the intelligentsia ends in empty chatter and symbolic dissent, while youth revolts with street disturbances are at best of temporary expedient rather than of use to the longrange goal of social upheaval. Hence, the principal field for their action (following the stage of the self-organization and self-definition of professional anticomunist circles of the intelligentsia) is precisely the worker communities, especially the larger clusters, the workforces at large industrial plants. Their standard

operating procedure includes not only forms of petty caliber (such as plots for infiltration and political provocation) but also and above all forms of mass, conspiratorial and semilegal work that had been tried and tested... in the experience of the worker movement. It may be that more than one worker has been misled here by precisely this worker-movement revolutionary modus operandi. The most outstanding example of this category of the "friends of workers" is the workers' /defenders/ [emphasized] associated in a certain well-known organization [KOR]. Ignoring their influence on certain groups of workers because they gained disciples and followers precisely among young and ambitious workers proved to be costly to the worker [communist] party, as costly as the mistakes and deformations which nudged many workers into the embraces of their professional and pious "friends."

What do the "defenders" of workers defend them against? Perhaps against indirect exploitation by international capital (as part of the international division of labor)? Or perhaps against the relics and recrudescences of petty-capitalist exploitation? Or, too, perhaps against ideological neutralization? Or against petty quotidian injustices and wrongs? No, they defend them against communism, i.e., against public ownership of means of production, against the principle of just distribution and generally just social relations, against the principle of hegemony of the working class as a safeguard of genuine democracy, against the communist party, against international solidarity, against the class alliance and against political alliance with the Soviet Union. All these factors are supposed to be responsible for all mistakes and irregularities, and the best way of bringing happiness to workers is precisely the elimination of public ownership, of the communist party, of alliance with the USSR, etc. It is a specific trait of the professional defenders that they conduct this dismantling of socialism and neutralization of the working class not by classical techniques (of the Hungarian or Czechoslovak kind) but from within, as it were, chiefly by dominating and disintegrating the worker movement. Such is the meaning of the fate of Solidarity. This accounted for the need for the myth of the "apolitical" attitude and "independence" of the trade-union movement (which in reality was a political force), and this also accounted for the tactic of opposing the "elemental" worker movement to the worker party and the worker-peasant state. The principal purpose of the friends-defenders, which has--unfortunately--become to a large extent accomplished during a certain stage, was to convince the laboring masses that they could supposedly rule, govern, distribute justly, etc., in a permanent manner by not producing and by opposing the state, abandoning the worker party, and availing themselves of the aid of agents of Western capital.

What do the professional "friends" and "defenders" of workers offer them in order to win over at least a part of the working class?

They offer to carefully selected individual workers a political career tantamount to joining the category of influential and well-situated opposition politicians, that is, "social climbing," advancement to prominence (consider the subsequent prominence of the lives of certain extremist leaders). To all others they offer temporary "gravy" in the form of successively extorted wage increases (beginning with the so-called "walesowka" [named after Walesa]), followed by endless and boundless promises, mirages of an easy dolce vita to

be rapidly achieved through strikes, make-believe work and, of course, the West's charitable aid. In addition to these consumer-society delusions designed for the less sophisticated or even primitive milieux, others were needed for inoculation into those who have not abandoned ambitions of exercising political, and collective at that, influence. Such workers had to be imbued with the conviction that they would have a greater say than previously, and as great a say as the managers appointed from among the new "nomenklatura," in the "self-governing" enterprises exempted from public and external control, and that a politically divided working class that is deprived of or opposed to the party and fragmented into discrete plant workforces that are blind to everything except their own narrow parochial interests, and are held on short rein by the "independent" trade unions and their apparat, would become the ruling class or even only now become a discrete class.

The actual attitude of the "friends and defenders" to workers is demonstrated not only by the ultimate consequences of their political strategy and tactics but also by the inclinations they displayed even before they had unmasked themselves. Which workers did they like and support? Not those, clearly, who provided a model of good work and made that work a matter of personal honor. Among their proteges with activist or even extremist attitudes only a rare few had already previously been activists and militants in behalf of strengthening the ["socialist"] system of society. A "friend of workers" can count only on alienated workers, including those who have never felt themselves to be workers fully and completely. Among the aware and educated workers he needs not those who retain the feeling of class identity and class belonging but candidates for "estrangement," not those who feel responsible for the collective but demagogues whose mouths drip with "solidarity" while at the same time they immediately feather their own nests with, for example, trade-union dues. The "friends of workers" counted chiefly on disoriented workers, because these were the easiest to provoke and mislead. They bestowed special friendship on demoralized or even derailed workers: drunkards, loafers, production saboteurs, eternal "wanderers," etc., as good material for future gangs of thugs. There is nothing surprising in this: when disintegration of the system is desired, the persons needed should have suitable qualifications and be especially prone to nihilism and destruction. It was precisely these traits of such marginal groups that subsequently served as a fitting justification for "curbing" such suspect workers who only strike and do damage instead of being willing to work.

#### Pious "Friends of Workers"

The pious "friends of workers" are those standardbearers of clericalism who interpret and implement anticommunism in the modern manner. They have discovered--after so many centuries of existence of human societies and 140 years after a certain godless person--the moral and social importance of labor and since then they complacently have been considering themselves pioneers in this matter. Formerly they used to defend "the sacredness of private property." They used to teach the plebs humility. They watched out for pilferers of the master's property, for violators of the natural and divine laws governing the immutable social order. They condemned, in the name of

divine laws and mercy, all aspirations to change social relations. They did not in the least give their blessing to the agricultural reform and the nationalization of industry. Now that the socialist reforms are something self-evident to a majority of the working population, or to a majority of the Polish nation, they act as if these reforms had also, and from the outset, been self-evident to them. Quite a few of these religious hypocrites who turn churches into political meeting-places, now claim that the right to liberty, sovereignty and justice, and the right to work as well, is something eternal given to man by nature and from the beginning by, of course, God. As if working people had from the beginning always been free and had work, as if they had not had to fight for these rights themselves despite the opposition of others, including religious hypocrites as well. It thus ensues that supposedly, these achievements can no longer be forfeited by laboring people, and particularly by workers, or too that the church guarantees all this to them. The praise of moderation and restraint and the condemnation of violence and all radicalism descend into oblivion when the religious hypocrite has to take a position on the public ownership of means of production, on the command economy, on the hegemony of the communist party. It is then that he understands and justifies the "sacred outrage" which he himself previously incites.

What kind of work makes sense to a decent Christian Pole in People's Poland nowadays, and in times of a crisis at that? Only the work dedicated to God. Seemingly there is nothing irrelevant or disturbing in this formulation: it seems that we are intruding into a domain reserved for the faithful. In reality, such a thesis camouflages common ideological blackmail: the moral assessment of labor (of its probity, utility, honesty, dignity, etc.) is made contingent on arbitrarily imposed ideological criteria. Such a thesis signifies that only labor that is motivated by religious (or religious-political) reasons and directed by or consonant with the indications of religious hypocrites can be positively evaluated and supported. This is a consequence of the notion that only prayers, or at any rate instruction by the orthodox clergy, can lead the country out of the crisis and assure social justice and the freedom and dignity of the individual as well. Everything else misleads or enslaves man. It is obvious, from the standpoint of religious hypocrites, that work which is organized and directed by communists is not dedicated to God and, not being a behest of the priests, it cannot be positively evaluated morally. Thus nothing will happen if a believing worker is not too industrious, if he feels no (civic, worker, occupational) obligation in all the domains which are not yet subject to the authority of the Sacred.

Such is the outlook of the religious hypocrites. They proclaim the cult of labor (after all, it would be otherwise difficult to win over the workingman) but at the same time they absolve in advance a workingman's ambivalent attitude toward labor. You should work conscientiously and productively for your own good and that of the country, but on condition that you feel your work to be meaningful. As to whether the work is meaningful or not, the decision depends on how you look at it and what I suggest to you. Thus, if you feel that your work is not meaningful (e.g., because of the crisis, poverty, waste, inflation, and because you do not like the authorities), you

have good reasons: wait until work becomes meaningful, until the crisis passes, until the system of society changes, etc. You should not be an egotist and an upstart, but since poverty and meaninglessness exist, help yourself as much as you can, as this is not your fault. Care for common property as much as possible. But state-owned property is neither common nor yours but alien. The only true property is private and personal property, with one exception, namely, that of the goods owned by the religious community, by the parish. Thus, when working to build a church, you work on common property and for the common good, whereas on an ordinary building site or in a work establishment you work for you know not who, the more so considering that even so not enough will be left for you.

In the crisis era it is possible to erect sacred structures by dint of supreme effort, as part of a special collective effort, but social and communal projects cannot (cannot?) be analogously built. One can and should work as best as one can, in a model manner, to build a church, but at the same time one should consider it natural to work halfheartedly and without enthusiasm in a plant or enterprise.

The believing worker should, of course, when building a church, build it as best as he can. This is not the point. This kind of attitude should be displayed toward any labor. Is the worker to build the church by way of demonstrating his "opposition"? Is it normal when the surrounding buildings are ugly and ramshackle while the church itself looks splendid? Does the worker erect the temple, owing to his initiative and extraordinary mobilization, as a testimony of flowering in order to attend prayers in it and during them to chorus complaints on the crisis and general impotence? Is a church that has been perfectly built by workers something from "another world" compared with a skyscraper or pavillion shoddily built by workers? Is this discrepancy intended as yet another argument against the authorities, or can and should the worker strive for a better organization of labor and for occupational honor at his plant or workshop?

The religious hypocrite would be glad to turn the construction and activities of the churches into an ideological symbol, identify it with elevating the dignity of the worker. But are precisely the churches the most fitting symbol of the worker's labor? Such a symbol is primarily the production plants, without which there would be nothing to build churches with. Are worker ideas and causes the leitmotif of activity in churches built by the hands of workers? Let us dispense with abstract reflections on the dignity of labor. I have never yet heard of any church rituals that especially honor outstanding work or mastery of one's craft. I have not heard either of any masses commemorating fighters of the worker movement, victims of repression by the Sanacja [prewar Polish regime] police, etc. Instead, in some churches, workers can participate in feting such well-known friends of workers [inverted commas are meant here] as Jozef Pilsudski, Ignacy Moscicki and the Rev Skorupka.

But that is not all. The Polish worker should pride himself and elevate himself above his neighbors, and he is entitled to this supremacy precisely by his uniquely conceived Christianity: that is, he should pride himself on building more churches, praying more, suffering more, having great countrymen,

and being discontented. He is to distinguish himself not by the quality and productivity of his labor and the ability to solve his problems but by his suffering and piety. This is a paradoxical paradigm, because it is above all industriousness and efficiency that are the yardstick of piety to many Christians both in Poland and abroad. Elsewhere, those who feel dissatisfied try to accomplish changes and act, but in our country they feel insulted and escape into the world of symbols. Instead of starting something, trying to act somehow, here at once one waves his hand resignedly and complains, whines and gripes. Complaining supposedly means that I am not reconciled to my fate, that I feel so rebellious, but in reality it entitles me to do nothing, to blame others, the system, bad luck, and look for help from outside [Poland]. Complaining is to be a measure of both dignity and intelligence! Not initiative and resourcefulness but precisely grumbling under one's nose. A philosophy of impotence is being cultivated and inoculated into successive generations even before they reach ablebodied age. Nothing can be done. Fecklessness (instead of the attitude of a committed person, an activist, a builder, a revolutionary) is to be the distinguishing feature of the Polish worker and of Poles in general.

In this matter the religious hypocrite is neither a precursor or a monopolist. But he leads in this ideology, because his most vital interests are linked to it. He fosters and disseminates a Lenten-fair philosophy of national salvation that is tantamount to an apology for beggary, to self-pity and extortion of alms, of merciful donations by good uncles from abroad. Labor and struggle against everyday evil are to be supplanted with mendicancy, with waiting for parcels from abroad. Of course, this mendicancy, too, is a heroic demonstration of protest. Because the parcels are received as a form of "protest."

But the calculations of the ecclesiastical "friends of workers" are in vain. The religiosity of workers does not necessarily develop into political naivete and nihilism. They also listen to and support the activities of that part of the clergy which is permeated with the spirit of responsibility and constructive participation in the country's life.

#### Spontaneous "Friends of Workers"

The spontaneous or faddish, so to speak, "friends of workers" are artists, writers, journalists, scientists, officials, etc., who worship workers out of hatred of the "Commune." They differ from the professional and pious "friends of workers" in that they manifest this sympathy or cult quite unprofessionally and sometimes in dilettante manner: not so much out of cold political calculation as out of an exaltation of dissent. They became friends with workers spontaneously only under the influence of a particular situation at a time when the authorities had sinned and found themselves in conflict with the working class. Illwill toward the undermined authorities (not infrequently felt only after they had suffered a defeat) developed into sympathy for the mutinous workers, at least so long as it had seemed that they would fight as gunfodder. The spontaneous nature of this friendship also consists in that it does not at all ensue from any regular physical contacts but is rather of a correspondence-symbolic and conventional kind. The "spontaneous" ones become

friends not with individual workers, and not with the entire working class (what an ugly concept the "class" is [to them]!), but friends at a distance with symbolic embodiments of workers such as Worker Walesa. This friendship is also spontaneous to the extent that it is not free of consternation.

The nature of the friendship offered by the "spontaneous" ones to workers consists in the old tried and tested principle of the division of labor: some think while others do the work. Those who think are those who lead, direct and allocate, while those who do the work, when it is still needed, also do the fighting. In return, the former ones think of them even more warmly and vividly.

To the spontaneous admirers, workers are above all a symbol of the protest. The intellectual-dissenter thinks above all in images and acts by reflex. Hence also he associates the worker with shooting, just as he associates Christ with the cross. And it is in such a role that he honors the workers. Of the living ones, he honors Lech Walesa and his ilk. As for those living ones who longer fight but still work, they are passed over in silence or again treated with the same contempt as before the outbreak. But it is the fallen workers above all that are needed for honoring. Opposition-minded lofty souls honor zealously the fallen workers of 1956 from Poznan, of 1970 from the Coast, and of course those from the Wujek Mine. They do not honor those at whom the "genuinely Polish" Sanacja police had fired. They do not either commemorate the anniversaries of mine disasters. They are little concerned with commemorating the "alien" workers who had lost their lives during the initial construction of the [Warsaw] Metro. They ridicule as such, and regardless of its form, the very idea of shock work and labor competition. They deride those workers (and peasants) who had founded People's Poland: to them these first officers, militiamen, plant managers and activists had been simply "obscurantists," a motley crowd of incompetents, etc. They censure workers (especially those in certain occupational groups) for being rich. Complaining at the (indeed!) low emoluments of professionals, they at once compare them with those of the highest-paid workingmen. But as for going oneself to work in a mine, a steel plant, or a tannery, the spontaneous "friend of workers" would not engage in productive physical labor for anything in the world! And he will not be forced to do this by the directive-type system or by the reformed system. Well, if one has to stain one's collar with sweat and become declassé, let it be only in a boutique. I beg pardon: I forgot that this applies only to Poland. Abroad no job is degrading.

The spontaneous "friend of workers" also assesses in a dualist manner any [manifestation of social] pathology and crime. For example, an alcoholic intellectual must have a complicated and vulnerable personality oppressed by existential problems, and provides an example of moral subtlety, as it were, while an alcoholic workingman must of course be a degenerate, a clod, a primitive robot.

The spontaneous "friend of workers" closely adheres to the aforementioned rules for division of labor and takes care to perpetuate them as well as his social status. He will not tolerate it if the son of a decent intelligentsia family lowers himself by becoming a workingman. He also raises hue and cry

whenever anyone attempts somehow to alter the proportions in recruitment for higher studies. And it is not enough for him to protest but he also then must insult people outside his "sphere." He adores the worker Walesa but at the same time is opposed to having "dullards" admitted to the universities.

An actor wearing a badge in his lapel will not give performances in a factory, because this is an infamous practice of the past, and instead he fruitfully divides his time among patriotic-dissident mysteriums, soirees of declamations of political poetry in private homes and in churches, and income-producing formal "hack-work" performances. Once he used to declaim revolutionary poetry in academies, now he despises it and denies it the name of an art: but this does not prevent him from declaiming agitational logorrhea.

"Independent" writers, critics and actors, together with producers, deride the complex whole of the problems in literature and art as such. They are absorbed in themselves and endlessly repeat megalomaniac stage performances and spectacles at which the auditorium is either nearly empty or filled with a crowd of snobs and adherents. With their theatre, their prose, their poetry, they fight for the worker in a manner in which he is generally absent in their works and in their audiences. And the blame for this, of course, rests on the "regime."

These faddish admirers of workers are prone to worship them everywhere except in their own creative works, whether in the fine arts, in science or in literature. Do you want proof? Certainly! They will willingly place wreaths, form a "V" with their fingers and engage in boycotts. But after performing these rituals (just as before they had performed en masse the ritual of marching in the First-of-May parade because "it was the right thing to do"), they again become absorbed in their own big and little affairs. But wherein is that love of the worker expressed and perpetuated? In what works of the spontaneous adorers can we find a collective portrayal of the [working] class, a portrayal of the worker as a role model, an epic poem limiting those several decades which have freed the country from backwardness and devastation and placed it in modern times, aside from those works "proving" that all that toil was meaningless and without results, that it was all in vain or in a bad cause? What about the scientists-dissenters? How are they studying the living conditions and role of workers? I do not claim that all studies of this subject are accepted by everyone with open arms. Some expertise in this field is had by party scientists, who tenaciously combat inertia, red tape and ornamental-apologetic tendencies. But what is the subject of research by the scientists-oppositionists? Perhaps the premises for the hegemony of the working class? Perhaps the threats to that hegemony? Perhaps the production and cultural achievements of that class? Or perhaps they are working to determine which classes and strata still benefit at the expense of workers during the transition period? No such thing! These scientists are concerned solely with research into real and imagined sufferings under the present system of society, during the 40 years [of existence of People's Poland].

"Dissident" art, literature and science all are past-oriented, both when they touch the gutter in the repertoire of scurrilities and when they explore alternatives. "Dissident" literature nostalgically describes expropriated

landowners and down-and-out emigres; it limns the vacillations of the intelligentsia and mythologizes the peasant. For the worker it does not find as many warm words, if he exists in it at all.

It would be worthwhile some time to consider the timing and circumstances of the flowering of certain attitudes. Those "friends of workers," the pillars and luminaries of the world of culture and science, indeed suddenly decided to support the workers on the occasion of their struggle for "independence." They decided to do so--not by accident--not before August [1980, rise of Solidarity] and not after December [1981, martial law proclaimed] but precisely during the period in between. They had not been interested in the worker until the "collapse" and until he himself engaged in demonstrations, and he ceased to interest them when he returned to work.

In what ways did these fortuitous admirers support the workers? Perhaps they had participated in their feats of production? Not quite so. But let us not exaggerate, let us not demand what would be only of symbolic significance. Perhaps then they did limn the feats of production? Of course, in cabarets. Perhaps then did hundreds and thousands of artists--set designers, interior decorators, sculptors, etc.--energetically undertake to adorn the interiors of factory rooms, canteens, locker rooms and yards? Not quite either. Perhaps somebody hampered them, would not let them in, was unwilling? Or perhaps they were awaiting an initiative from the bureaucracy? No, they simply did not think of it. Most often in general they have not seen these premises and so could not be repelled by their drabness, monotony and simple ugliness. And if some of them did view these premises (for example, during tours or at festive meetings of the world of culture with the world of work), they apparently thought that this is how such places are preordained to look. The "pure 'intelligent'" [member of the Polish intelligentsia] divides the world into a zone of elegance and aesthetics on one side and everything else on the other. It appears that an apartment building must be of gray concrete and an office building must look impressive. The dwelling of the "average man" must be standard; that of an artist, extravagant; and the residence of a nouveau riche, ostentatiously vulgar. Hospital and school corridors must be ornately paneled and office hallways and rooms must be wood-paneled, but the walls of machine rooms, tool shops or lacquer-coating rooms should be bare and painted a fireproofed color. And justly so, because nothing in the appearance of such premises should distract or divert people from productive tasks. Instead, the admirers of workers eagerly wrote cabaret scripts (e.g., roles for actors wearing bast shoes), appeals, programs and flyers, and designed banners and posters. They were adept at this: hack-work is done identically, regardless of its ideological content and depending on the honorarium.

Perhaps then they did "go to the people" in some other ways? Perhaps they did awaken the cognitive and cultural aspirations of worker youth? Perhaps the directors of schools, clubs and houses of culture had a headache owing to an excess of lecturers, speakers and guests from the "grand monde"? Or perhaps the faddish ones did lend their support in large numbers to the amateur cultural movement by showing active concern for the promotion of worker theaters, recitation circles, [worker] literary movement, etc? But this too remained the domain of isolated enthusiasts who strangely enough most often

turn out to be "collaborators." The faddish ones helped workers in one thing only: in disintegrating production and the entire state, expecting moreover in return the "socialization of culture," that is, that no one would interfere in the internal quarrels of scientists, artists and publicists about their programs, scripts, commissions and finances.

It is said that unproved and unrequited friendship decays. There is something to this saying. Many of the spontaneous ones by now feel insulted by workers. Some already are elaborating a theory of this error, arguing that the plebs is worthless and it is not worthwhile to fight for it, since it itself does not want to fight. Others are returning to their solipsist concerns, rebuilding their own little worlds of splendor, reentering the closed circle of admiration and rivalry. Others still, who are perhaps the coldest in their cynicism, continue, as during all the previous stages, to make workers and other ordinary people happy by their hack-work and pseudo-culture, religiously believing that only the culture of poor taste and cheap entertainment is accessible to these people.

#### Ultraleftist "Friends of Workers"

The hurrah-leftist "friends of workers" derive from the so-called real communists who are akin to the rightist "friends" (although they want to combat them) in that they make friends with an abstract worker. Their distinguishing feature is that they desire to bring happiness to the worker immediately, at once and in their own way, even if by force; because of course they know better about everything. Their recipe for the happiness of the worker--an abstract worker, and fortunately, the happiness of the abstract worker does not have to have anything in common with the contentment of real workers--is quite simple, yet they keep wondering why no one is willing to immediately resort to such as miracle drug.

First of all, society should be clearly and unequivocally divided into workers and nonworkers. The latter are by nature and in advance suspect and have to be vetted and examined so as to cull only the more valuable elements. Of the nonworkers, the best chance is had by the subjectively fervent and extremely radical friends of workers. It is necessary to get rid as soon as possible of opportunist rotters, including those who want to particularize the interests of the working class and mesh them with the interests of other groups of laboring people. The nonworker segments of the population must be workingmanized as soon as possible, as otherwise they would become dangerous and, sooner or later, antisocialist. For example, all office workers could be forced to take up shovels or the social division of labor could be abolished in a day and a mandatory and universal rotation of occupations, professions and jobs decreed. After the healthy worker core of the society is separated from the rotten remnant, the workers themselves have to be culled, though, because they also include uncertain or rotten elements. The most aware--according to the criteria of the leftist "friends"--and most obedient categories qualify for further development and marching forward. The undecided, unconvinced and doubting ones as well as the demoralized elements should be excluded, so that there would be no diseases within the healthy worker core, so that a healthy class core would form.

To isolate this healthy class core within the healthy worker marrow and protect it against bad influences, the worker movement should be properly handled. So that the rightist and opportunist intelligentsia as well as the bureaucracy would not rule workers, the party should be immediately workingmanized, i.e., purged of nonworker elements. Discrete worker and nonworker party organizations should be isolated and the latter placed under vigilant class supervision. As regards control over suspect scientific theories and artistic trends, it can be exercised within party milieux by trusted "intelligents"-workers who would resocialize incorrigible "intelligents." The same policy should be pursued within worker self-governments (consisting of workers alone or upon segregating the workers). Trade unions in particular must consist of workers alone, or at least be divided into worker and nonworker trade unions. Then the class interest of workers will prevail, and the working class itself will be free of parochialisms.

Anyone to whom this program might seem too sectarian must be convinced by its social justification. The chief obstacle to the development of socialism and the happiness of the working class is the intelligentsia (except those of its members who champion the abstract worker). Everything is being done through both these parts of the intelligentsia as well as by bureaucratic officials, managers, aparatchiks, etc. Workers can and should dispense with them. Anyone who is against (including not only the enemies but also those who are uncertain and undecided) should be thrown onto the garbage heap and a new beginning should be made. And in general the chain of the expanded reproduction of enemies of socialism should be broken and the selection and breeding of the new intelligentsia should be commenced anew in each generation. Origin and the feeling of obligation to the socialist state are in themselves guarantees of correct attitudes and class loyalty in everyone. No one will become a bourgeois, no one will become an effete snob, etc.

The ultraleftist cult of the worker is, so to speak, of a mediated nature. It does not consist in that the "leftist" focuses his attention and scrutiny on the object itself of the cult and tries to explore and improve it. That would be plain worship. The leftist worships the worker not for himself but in a confrontation with a different world from which he cannot turn his eyes away. What is it that fascinates so terribly leftist writers, reporters and publicists? He observes "high life" and marginal life in obedience to the principle: "I must look on, and the more I look on the more my hate waxes." But the more he looks on the more he is attracted. So where is the cult of the worker? Well, it manifests itself in two kinds of appeal. The first, directed to the object of fascination, is: "Shame on you. Look at the workers!" The second, directed at workers, says on the contrary: "Look, what a disgrace!" The "leftists'" expectations of the workers are unequivocal: the worker should be poor, and for this very reason revolutionary. He should drive out this gang. In brief, "revolutionary" implies "jealous." The worker is needed in the capacity of the gardener's dog to satisfy the unfulfilled subliminal aspirations of the "leftists." Such leftism is no less petty-bourgeois than its rightist counterpart, and its only distinguishing feature is that it applies to the unsuccessful bourgeois, and especially to failures in life. In

this connection, in one of its planks the program of the ultraleftist friends of workers coincides with the cold pragmatism of the technocrats. Let the worker become more activist everywhere so long as he is not that way at his own workplace, within his own work team. Let the worker exercise control, but over speculators and nouveaux riches. Let him educate himself, but he should not consider himself knowledgeable.

But the greatest obstacles to all this are the system of alliances (because this is opportunism and capitulationism), the economic reform and the nonadministrative forms of political struggle. The leftist, like his rightist counterparts, rejects the whole because of a part of it, and internal contradictions in social processes and changes are to him a reason for adhering to a fixed immaculate ideology, although it seems to him that he is promoting change.

The friendship of the ultraleftist lovers of workers lasts as long as any sudden and unrequited affection--until the first disappointment. As soon as leftists feel disappointed by workers (when these refuse to listen to their notions), they feel insulted and thereafter already evolve from instruction to derision.

#### Where Then Are Real Friends To Be Found?

They need not be sought far and wide. Before I begin looking for friends, first I must help myself and, to this end, realize who I am, what are my aspirations and who and what is preventing me from achieving them. To workers, the only meaningful alliances are those which they join as a conscious and organized force, as a subject rather than an object. Hence, I myself am my best friend if I work on myself and am aware of my assets and deficiencies. The liberation of the working class can be accomplished only by the working class itself: this thesis of Marx and Engels has found its embodiment in the development and activity of the worker movement with the worker party as its central element. Nothing will replace the worker movement, which includes the party, trade unions, sociopolitical organizations, self-governments. No one will present to workers the gift of justice, self-government, an abundant life, and work that is freed from alienation, whether on the principle of temporal or transtemporal protection. The worker ceases to be a living instrument of labor and a tool of alien political manipulations only when he is a conscious member of a class united by its internal and organizational bonds as well as by bonds of ideology. He will lack that ideology in the absence of activities of the communist party. It is the party also that coordinates the interests and activities of different segments of the class and different elements of the worker movement. It is the party that establishes alliances, in its own ranks as well, among workers, the progressive intelligentsia and the laboring peasantry. It is the party, finally, that enables workers to direct the economy and the state. Precisely for these reasons, any blow aimed at the party is a blow against the interests of the working class.

It is the dream of the "friends of workers" to separate the working class from the party and oppose them to one another. They have not disdained any

means in their striving to accomplish this dream. Their principal move was, of course, the properly prepared and tendentiously interpreted myth of August, a myth that was precisely to symbolize the mutual alienness and schism of the party and the workers, with regard to both the genesis and meaning of August and its consequences and legacy. But this abuse "justifies" in its turn negating the entire policy of socialist renewal.

The opposition's myth of August rests on several basic oversimplifications and mathematical "signs of equality" presented and accepted as "obvious." In every case, historical facts are distorted and adapted to subsequent interpretations. Instead of distinguishing between the initial situation and the subsequent happenings that were conditioned by many new factors, the "before" is illuminated ahistorically and tendentiously, through the prism of the "after." That is the only way to act when one has something to conceal. The first oversimplification, or rather lie, in that myth is the claim that the motives and aims of the first protests of the working class [in 1956 and 1970] were identical with the subsequently formulated political postulates insinuated by the professional "workers' defenders." The second was the claim that the protest of the working class against distortions and consequences of the mistaken policy of a particular leadership group was and is identical and tantamount to the protest of the working class against the party as such. This claim was consistently dinned into workers during the long months following August, on citing as "proof" the subsequent evolution of certain worker communities and activist circles. The third fabrication, also not accidental, was the claim that the "social contract" concluded in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie was and is tantamount to recognition of the existence of two equal parties, two centers of political representation, of which one reflected the will and interests of the working class while the other acted simply contrary to them. This was immediately followed by the fourth lie: identifying that center as, of course,... Solidarity. Naive and ignorant people to this day believe the "friends" when they say that the contract in August was signed "by the authorities and Solidarity," whereas in reality Solidarity had arisen much later, following prolonged transformations of the "independent" trend in trade unions and following as well a ferocious internal struggle which had eliminated a sizable proportion of the founders and signatories to agreements in many plants. A natural consequence of such reasoning is the following supposed conclusion: Since the just protest of the working class, personified by Solidarity, took place in August, then all that Solidarity did later was justified in advance because of August. Here I will ignore the myth, recently verified [as published] by facts, of the "total spontaneity" of certain protests and postulates, considering that the forms and scope of the gravitation of "friends of workers" toward, and their subsequent domination of, the elemental protest movement have long since been identified.

Reality as usual is more complex and gives the lie to myths. This also concerns the genesis, course, meaning and consequences of August. The worker protest had begun much earlier and it grew on a mass scale during the campaign on the eve of the 8th Congress, chiefly in party organizations. It was reflected in criticism and in many resolutions and postulates. Unfortunately, it became paralyzed and achieved no breakthrough, which had subsequently facilitated the enemy's task. But in one way or another the genesis of August

should be sought in earlier times and certainly not outside the party. Its second stage was precisely the wave of strikes in the summer of 1980, begun as known in July. As also known, party members participated in these strikes. Thus, the first strikes had nothing in common with the future Solidarity or with total manifestations against the party and the socialist system of society. The slogan of these strikes was, as also known, quite different from those later insinuated. It is no accident that August and the dates of signing the agreements became a symbol. To the new party and state leadership they became a symbol of [national] accord and the policy of renewal, a confirmation of bonds with the working class based on specific terms (only some of which had, besides, been reflected in the agreements). At its 5th Plenum the party acknowledged the validity and constructive significance of the worker protest. To the "friends of workers," August was to become a symbol of their legalization and a pretext for simply inconceivable falsifications of history as well as abuses. This disinterpretation was useful to them even after their defeat, when they used it to again deceive their disoriented or native (although increasingly less numerous) adherents. If we assume as a rough oversimplification (exactly like the underground and whispered propaganda), that the "worker protest and the movement for renewal equal Solidarity," and that Solidarity equals the National Commission and the advisers from known political parties, it is "obvious" that the martial law and all the subsequent as well as preceding policies represent negation of the renewal as well as of the aspirations of workers. Similarly, the policies of Solidarity were glorified by reversing the relationship of cause to effects and using August as the yardstick, and thereupon just as ahistorically explaining all policies of socialist renewal as nothing else than a conspiracy planned from the outset to eliminate Solidarity, that is, supposedly, to eliminate renewal.

In the meantime, though, the workers themselves experienced on their own skin the complexities of the class struggle. They lived through the internal struggle in the party, a struggle for the policy of changes and reforms and renewal. They also lived through the internal struggle relating to the rise of Solidarity and the subsequent elimination of the worker and pro-socialist current, and lastly through a kind of "independence" during which foreign capital was used to finance a civil war in which workers were to serve as cannon fodder. Some workers still cherish illusions and prejudices and are attached to various myths. Some still lend an ear to the voice of their "friends" (now most often coming from abroad). But the way of thinking of millions of workers has changed qualitatively during these 5 years, and this is not understood only by those who attempt to reheat the repertory of the "confrontation period."

The party paid a high price for that period of struggle. To this day it operates and struggles under crossfire by international capital, domestic petty capital and domestic lofty-souls-for-hire who rip off the Polish worker as much as they can and sic him against the party. But they are doing so with growing nervousness: they fear that the workers will recognize them for what they are. Hence, the importance of the Lodz plenum cannot be overestimated, although of course the matter could be "drowned" in watery occasional articles and recollections. But the 16th Plenum was not from the scratch. It was not the beginning but the consequence of the specific policy outlined by the 9th

Congress. This policy has, despite so many pressures and counteractions, despite so many obstacles introduced from inside and outside, and from outside the state and the party, finally blazed its trail, and it has already found its embodiment in specific directions of action: in the development of the mechanisms of social consultation and control (inclusive of the work to establish worker-peasant inspections), in the promulgation of legal and political safeguards of the self-governing nature of trade unions, and in the qualitative changes in the legal-systemic standing of local, territorial and worker self-governments. One of the additional safeguards of this policy is the newly elected, at the 9th Congress, worker-peasant composition of the Central Committee. However, there also exist many barriers to this policy, primarily the psychological barriers of mistrust and insufficient activism of many collectives, and the lack of tradition and habits of autonomy, initiative and utilization of the rights gained, as well as plant and branch parochialisms and the inertia of old habits reigning among part of the managerial cadre. But nothing is created without a struggle. Such also is the idea of the 16th Plenum, which may become a turning point and provide an impetus for a qualitative leap forward in the processes of the recovery of the power, identity and cohesiveness of the worker movement and the worker nature of the party and state. On condition, of course, that the motive power of this process, the vigilant watchman of the principles of democracy and social justice, be the worker aktiv itself concentrated in party and trade-union organizations, and that it meet therein with support from the ideological-upbringing and organizational work of the party's professional aparat.

One needs only to realize that the party is not some "friend of workers" (even when this expression is employed without inverted commas, even if the party is the sincerest and truest friend), but their representative, servant and leader simultaneously. In general, the party is not anything external to the working class, and it any rate it cannot be so because, were it to condone this, it would cease to be itself or cease to exist. It is not only the workers who need this party but also vice versa. To the party its bond with the working class is a question of "to be or not to be." Thus, if there still are any party members or activists who take the position of a patron or an overseer and condescendingly clap workers on the shoulder, such people are in the wrong place. The more so, there is no room in our party for persons who verbally acknowledge its ideals but in their everyday activities disregard workers and their labor and cultivate various prejudices. The primary ideological duty of the party member is to elevate the level of his own awareness and that of his comrades by, among other things, educating and upbringing conscious and mature worker activists, pulling up to their level the whole of workers, and forming ideological bonds for all working people. His next duty is to actively oppose all forms of belittling the working class, let alone react to any disregard of its interests, manifestations of degradation, etc.

It is true that the party has not always consistently expressed the interests of workers. But if this happened, it was because, among other things, the activism and vigilance of the working class grew relaxed. The gap thus formed was invaded by many false friends. It was against them that all that the party has won by its struggle for the workers, and which was undermined under the guise of eliminating distortions, had to be defended. Workers, including also

the disenchanted, embittered and doubting ones, have no better safeguards of their interests than the continuing concern for preserving and deepening the class and worker nature of the party.

It is no accident that a special plenum of the PZPR Central Committee was devoted to this matter. May it not become just a colorful episode. May it not be obscured by "quotidian pragmatism" or by the rhythmic mechanism of the campaigns "between one plenum and another." The matter is too serious to disregard the fundamental problems posed at the Lodz plenum. The party's practice and theory must resolve these problems; they must find solutions to such questions as: the forms and safeguards of the bonds between the party and the working class; the forms and mechanisms of the influence of the working class on the state and on enterprise management, including forms of self-government and social control; the conditions for the hegemony of the working class in society, and the terms and platforms of class and party alliances; the mechanism for bringing up and promoting the worker aktiv in the party and organs of the state; and the premises and directions of an ideological counteroffensive against both doctrines and colloquial versions of views conflicting with proletarian ideals. A lot of work awaits us, and en route let us be mindful of the "friends." Some of them will change their repertory, while others will bark and bite and others still will try to don our clothes, so long as they can stay within sight. The same fate awaits them as that of an importunate bore: they will become tedious and odious, because they will obstruct work.

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AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES OF WARSAW MILITARY DISTRICT DESCRIBED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Jul 84 p 4

[Article by Stanislaw Reperowicz: "Food for the Common Table; Army Farms"]

[Text] According to a report of the quartermaster of the Warsaw Military District [WOW], the 1983 production of slaughter hogs on auxiliary farms connected with the barracks of the WOW, accounted for 50 percent of the district's annual requirements for pork, which is essential in the feeding of soldiers in basic military service. An increase also occurred in the breeding of cattle, sheep, poultry and fish.

The remaining military districts, as well as branches of the armed services, achieved similar results. In sum, the army raised and, in compliance with principles governing meat regulations, delivered thousands of tons of slaughter hogs for general consumption in the country during the past year.

The army farms mentioned above supply other types of meat in addition to pork, namely: beef, lamb, poultry and fish. They produce vegetables, especially early vegetables, in considerable quantities and grow grain and potatoes. They also maintain well-developed food processing. Their activity is instrumental in relieving general consumer goods problems, and makes it possible to maintain a suitable level of nutrition for soldiers.

The sight of soldiers toiling in the fields has not been uncommon since the beginning of the People's Republic. During the spring of 1945, contingents assigned from the First and Second Army Units of the Polish Army, capitalizing on a brief pause in the offensive, tilled the soil and planted grain in liberated regions, wherever a shortage of farmers occurred, soldiers fed abandoned and straying domestic animals and cleared fields, forests and meadows of mines and unexploded shells, also processed milk into butter and cheese, reactivated flour mills, baked bread...

During the first year of freedom and prior to the arrival of settlers in the west, soldiers harvested the grain from more than 92,000 hectares, and hay

from 122,000 hectares, and in the fall they planted approximately 257,000 hectares of land. Furthermore, they delivered more than 52,000 head of livestock to civilian authorities.

Three days prior to the beginning of the Berlin operation, that is, 13 April 1945, on orders from the commander-in-chief, the Agricultural-Farm Division was created, consisting of approximately 7,000 soldiers.

Even during the final phase of military operations, requiring a maximum effort from our army in the struggle with the invader, the division took possession of more than 300 former German properties in western Pomerania with a combined area of almost 12,000 hectares, and subsequently 500 additional properties.

In 1947 the army conveyed the sown land together with buildings and livestock to the Ministry of Agriculture and Farm Reform. The Farm-Agriculture Division was dissolved, which did not mean that the army stopped supporting the food economy of the country. Only the form of this support was changed. For example, soldiers currently not only hasten with aid to state farms, especially during the seasonal summer and fall accumulation of farm work; they repair farm machinery, aid with the harvest and the gathering of potatoes and beets.

Today's generations of soldiers are trained not only after examples of front-line heroes, but also after examples of military generosity in peaceful work, including on the farm.

The first army farms attached to barracks were established immediately following the war, when units returned from the front and settled in permanent garrisons. Consumer goods difficulties compelled quartermaster services to develop their own production of food. Later, as supplies improved, these farms were subject to reduction and by the mid-1970's they did not play a major role.

It was only the 1974 resolution of the 15th Plenum of the Central Committee of the PZPR, ordering the mobilization of all reserves in agriculture, that contributed to reactivating and expanding farms connected with barracks. The Main Quartermaster's Office of the Polish Army compiled a special program for the army's cooperation in the production of food and development of auxiliary farms.

Let us examine the farms connected with barracks in the Warsaw Military District. As in other districts, they work on a margin of basic military unit assignments, that is, the fulfillment through them of defense functions. The production of food in all instances is an additional activity, arising from the specific needs of the present period.

The army, as is well known, has access to tracts of land designated for purposes of instruction on which training facilities, firing ranges and other installations of a defensive nature are erected. As a general rule,

these facilities are situated on wastelands or very poor parcels, in forests, on sand and marshlands.

Thanks to the impressive efforts of soldiers, the lands bordering these facilities are transformed into ploughlands. The acreage of cultivated land is growing systematically. Last year almost 2,500 tons of grain, many potatoes, field vegetables, etc., were gathered from it in the WOW.

Deserving of special attention is the development of the cultivation of leafy vegetables. Today they occupy more than 42,000 square meters. The expanded production of early vegetables suggests that fresh vegetables are on most soldiers' plates in the WOW from early spring to late autumn, even when they are still quite expensive.

Their own farm produce provides a basis for well-developed food processing. Last year WOW units prepared a winter supply of approximately 2,700 tons of sauerkraut, dill pickles, as well as marinated vegetables and fruits.

This has dual significance for the army's food economy. In the first place, it provides great savings in expenditures which would have to be made additionally in purchasing these processed foods in the market place. For example, in 1983 alone, WOW savings derived from this source amounted to 50 million zlotys, which were earmarked for improving the quality of food as well as the structure of soldiers' meals.

Second, to a considerable degree, it renders the food service in the unit independent of outside supplies, which in the case of remote garrisons, as well as during marches and trips to the firing range, facilitates life considerably.

Furthermore, last year in the mess halls, food stations and garrison bakeries of the WOW, in excess of 2,150 tons of delicatessen-confectionery products were produced, thereby meeting the need of the army community for these items by 80 percent.

In the report already referred to, I read among other things that the extra effort expended on the development of farms attached to WOW barracks made it possible to maintain the feeding of soldiers in units on a constant level in comparison with past years. An improvement was even attained in the structure of consumption in the area of limited products, as well as an increase in the consumption of vegetables, fruits, milk products and fish.

In the forefront of leading units, the following are to be found: Tadeusz Kosciuszko First Mechanized Warsaw Division, J. Bema First Artillery Brigade and the Sixth Pomeranian Air-Land Division. The names of the following food service officers from the WOW list of quartermasters were likewise referred to me as especially deserving of merit in developing produce-livestock farms in their units: Maj Eugeniusz Zielinski, Maj

Tadeusz Stolarczyk, Capt Kazimierz Nowaczka, Lt Stanislaw Cioska and Senior Staff Ensign Stanislaw Bakaly.

The minister of agriculture decorated a dozen or so others with the honorary award of "meritorious farm worker." Among those honored were the following: Second Lt Stanislaw Kolodziejczyk, Staff Ensign Ryszard Depciuch, Ensign Slawomir Pucyk, Senior Staff Sgt Miroslaw Wepa, Senior Staff Sgt Waclaw Narozny and Citizen Stefania Miszkiel.

Recently, Lt Col Benedykt Jaworski took a well-deserved rest. For many years, as quartermaster of the engineering-construction unit, he made a special effort so that "his" barrack's farm could be classified among the exemplary.

The tasks for 1985 presented by the Polish Army Head Quartermaster's Office anticipate further growth in produce-livestock production on soldiers' farms. Results to date make it possible to believe that those plans will be implemented with a surplus.

9951  
CSO: 2600/1200

## MILITARY MAP PREPARATION, TERMINOLOGY DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 22, 27 May 84 p 21

[Article: "The Subject Is Topography. The Map--An Image of the Terrain"]

[Text] What is a Map?

Here is the briefest answer: A map is a flat image of the surface of the earth (also of the sky or a celestial body) reduced in size in a conventional manner and determined mathematically.

There are different types of maps, and all may be grouped in two basic categories:

-- general geographic maps,  
-- thematic maps.

General geographic maps show equally the characteristics of all terrain elements (but show a different degree of detail depending on the intended use and scale of the map). Depending on the scale, maps are divided into geographical overview maps (scale 1:100,000 maps and smaller) and topographical maps (scale 1:100,000 and larger).

The geographic overview maps are used as the basis for producing the thematic maps (specialized maps) which include, inter alia, maritime maps, air navigation maps, geological maps, transportation maps and industrial maps.

To use maps, one has to know them.

### The Map Language

In ancient times terrain objects were shown on maps in perspective and the precision of presentation depended on the artistic abilities of the mapmaker. Today, objects are shown using conventional topographic signs, which make maps not only more legible but also allow them to be made uniform regardless of scale.

Conventional topographic signs are the language with which the map speaks to us. They are graphic images of objects shown on the map, they permit faithful

representation of those objects on the map, are understandable and easy to remember, to locate, and to draw.

Depending on the kind and character of terrain objects, we divide topographic signs into: point signs, linear signs, surface (outline) signs and descriptive signs.

In the socialist states (contrary to the Western states) uniform signs and map nomenclature have been introduced. For topographic maps, a uniform ellipsoid has been accepted, as has a unique level for relative altitude, uniform cartographic format, systems of coordinates, uniform scale system, conventional signs and widths of margins. Only names are shown in the alphabet used in the given country.

One type of map is the military map, which for a soldier, and especially for a commander and a staff officer, constitutes the basic source of information about the terrain. It is used for various purposes: it is the basis for selecting advantageous directions for attacking and for defensive positions, areas for locating troops, and is essential for conducting earthworks, organizing communications nets and supply lines, evacuation, etc. The map makes it possible for artillerymen to prepare firing data, for pilots and sailors to navigate.

Military maps differ from other maps not only because, as a rule, they are a more detailed image of the terrain. An important characteristic of the military map is that it contains many additional items of information that could not be found on other maps. Predominantly, these are items of information about the terrain, items essential in the organization of combat operations.

Military maps can be topographic and specialized. Topographic maps show all items of information which are indispensable for ground troops and are printed in a few colors: terrain contours are marked in brown, green is for woods, blue for the water, red for paved roads, orange for roads with hard surfaces and black for terrain objects, railroads and inscriptions.

The method of representing the terrain must assure quick and easy determination of the altitude of individual points, their relative visibility, terrain declination angles, etc.

Specialized military maps are those showing hard-surface roads (including the characteristics determining their suitability for mechanized vehicles), railroads (intended for planning rail movements), terrain obstacles, water barriers (with overprints showing barrier data and crossings), air and sea navigation charts, etc.

Ground troops headquarters and staffs predominantly use maps in 1:100,000 or 1:200,000 scale (they serve as the primary tactical and operational maps). Air forces use 1:500,000 (as navigational charts); rocket troops and artillery use more detailed maps in 1:25,000 scale.

On the battlefield or on exercises, every commander and staff officer has his own map on which he marks the tactical and operational situation as it concerns him. Additionally, the staffs keep maps for records. Generally, they contain information about our own and enemy troop positions as of a certain date. Record maps differ depending on the information shown on them. We differentiate the following types of record maps: operational, reconnaissance, quartermaster, communications, etc.

To represent a battle situation on maps (and sketches), we use tactical symbols.

Various types of combat and technical equipment are represented by their particular signs (e.g. a tank symbol, a radio transmitter sign), as are the more important military activities (e.g. symbol of attack) and some abstract notions (e.g., unit sector dividing lines).

Thanks to these symbols, it is easy to draw on the map an existing situation, and it is not difficult to interpret the location and type of activities of our own and enemy troops, the location of defensive works, obstacles, rear echelon installations, pieces of equipment and armament, firing positions, command posts, etc.

Tactical symbols are used in all armies and they are drawn in proper colors. Within the Warsaw Pact, red means our general purpose troops and black is used for our technical units and all inscriptions referring to our troops. Everything pertaining to the enemy is marked in blue.

In the armies of the West, all data regarding their own troops are in blue and black stands for the adversary.

8801  
CSO: 2600/1201

It was essentially the same error already so often repeated: the error of constitutional goals and the means for their implementation ideologically regarded as something not necessarily dependent on us. That is how people have been thinking from the beginning. For example, the first objective advanced was freedom from extreme poverty. For years, things moved even in the direction of catching up with the capitalist level of consumption without caring that working people were being treated as objects and manipulated accordingly; it was as if the point were consumption for consumption's sake and not concern for building a qualitatively different system, a system with new values. That which was supposed to have been only the means to an end became the end in itself, something foreign and warped. This entire philosophy of freedom from extreme poverty was unmasked already by Marx as the poverty of philosophy.

The essential point in this article is the error of the praxeological approach to social issues. This approach presupposes a model of technical-organizational solutions to goals, forced from above, and assumes means, methods and principles which, as it turns out, are supposed to lead to the execution of the adopted provisions. This kind of approach and praxeological thinking in general are effective only in technology. Take, for example, the construction of a facility with a complicated production process, where the planned, scheduled accomplishment of a task is required, with a preplanned preservation of forces and resources. In social issues, especially political activity, however, such a dictated manner of building socialism, as if it were a gift to the workers, and the regard for people as being mere units implementing the dreamt-up goals, result in idealism, voluntarism and technical and managerial manipulation of all the people. Against this backdrop, the cult of power, bureaucracy, democratic degeneration and the domination of the party by a small clique grow.

Lenin's concept was not an option for either the first or second trend mentioned (the Second International). Applying Marxist methodology and being fully aware of the decisive historic role played by working people, Lenin knew that socialism could not be built for people; it is a long-lasting process of creating a new system on the remains of the old one, with people as they are and with regard to their mentality, interests, needs, etc. The party of the working class is supposed to be the guiding strength in these actions; it is supposed to organize the workers, represent and defend their interests against other classes and social forces. The party is to introduce the organization, teach, explain to working people their real interests and desires, articulate them and provide them with the necessary instruments for correct action. But the party cannot do this according to the principle of forcing the people to be happy, or according to the principle of "We know better than you what you need."

12247  
CSO: 2600/1211

AIR FORCE COMMANDER DISCUSSES DEFENSE CAPABILITIES

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Aug 84 p 2

[Interview with Air Force Commander Gen Div Tytus Krawczyc, by Aleksander Nowak, PAP correspondent]

[Text] The 40th anniversary of the first operational flight of the Polish People's Air Force pilots is approaching. On 23 August 1944 the aircraft of the First Warsaw Air Force Fighter Regiment took off to engage Hitler's Luftwaffe. This day is traditionally celebrated as Air Force Day.

In connection with this, PAP asked Air Force Commander Gen Div Tytus Krawczyc to describe the character of transformations that the Polish Air Force has undergone during the past 40 years.

"The recollection of the most important facts and events of the wartime and postwar history of the Polish Air Force," said General Krawczyc, "when compared with the present shows the enormous changes that were brought about in the Polish Air Force to keep pace with modern times. And modernity is one of the conditions of the strength of our air force, and consequently also of the safety of the serial borders of our people's fatherland. We spoke of this recently at the historical conference in Poznan devoted to the 40th anniversary of the Polish people's aviation. The valuable materials gathered there will also help in the future in the patriotic upbringing of the present and future air force generations in the splendid combat traditions and the education of the broad strata of our youth and society. They will likewise be helpful in popularizing our Air Force's accomplishments and the contribution of the Air Force to the development of the People's Poland and the strengthening of its defenses."

[Question] The whole history of the people's air force evidences the Polish-Soviet brotherhood-in-arms that came into being during the last war.

[Answer] The organization in the USSR of the First Tadeusz Kosciuszko Infantry Division, begun in May 1943, presented directly the problem of the organization of other troops, including those of the air force. In July the organization of a fighter squadron of the First Infantry Division was begun, and the Grigorevskoe Airfield became its training center. Within a month of the proclamation of the PKWN [Polish Committee of National Liberation] Manifesto,

at the Zadybie Stare Airfield a group of Polish pilots was preparing for its first operational flights over their native land. The battles fought by them over Wisla and Pilica on 23 August 1944 attested that the Polish pilots had joined directly the struggle for the liberation of their homeland.

Both during the organization of Polish People's Air Force units and afterward the Soviet Union made haste to help us greatly. Our pilots were trained by Soviet instructors, our units were provided with Soviet equipment, and basic tactics developed by Soviet comrades were followed during air-to-air combat. We are bringing up the present pilot generations based on those glorious traditions.

[Question] And how is the Polish Air Force doing at present?

[Answer] At present the Polish Air Force constitutes an armed force capable of carrying out diverse combat operations. It is a modern air force, well equipped and armed, capable of defending our borders in any situation. Within the framework of the Warsaw Pact, it forms an inseparable part of the defense system of the socialist countries, and the system of joint exercises, elaborated and verified in practice, has proved to be coherent and lasting, making for the unity of allied armies. This is of special importance at present, for in thinking of the prospects of the Polish Air Force we have before us the alarming intensification of the arms race and the constant increase of the offensive combat potential of the NATO armed forces in Europe.

As in the war years, at present the fraternal help of the Soviet Union is of enormous importance, ensuring the technological progress and modernity of our Air Force. These factors and our airmen, idealistic, patriotic, persevering and dedicated, perpetually enhancing their knowledge and flying skills, determine the high level of combat readiness of the Polish Air Force.

[Question] Everywhere and especially in the Air Force the ideological and moral values, the level of professional knowledge and perfection in its use must be surely of the highest degree.

[Answer] Indeed, these are decisive elements. The modern combat equipment that our Air Force has at its disposal makes the training of the present-day pilot a very complex process, in which the latest technological and scientific achievements are utilized. The qualified cadre and the modern base ensure a rapid mastering of technological innovations, the basic tactics of combat, command, etc.

Speaking of our airmen, I would like to emphasize that during all these 40 years their personalities were shaped by such characteristics as a deep attachment to the idea of socialism, patriotism, dedication, courage, and not infrequently heroism, as well as extensive technological knowledge and discipline. These very traits, being a result of socialist upbringing, characterize the Polish Air Force cadre. Our units maintain strong, inseparable bonds with society, which are expressed in various forms,

including collaboration in matters of ideological and patriotic education, cooperation with youth organizations, and help in carrying out economic tasks. Airmen have always been eager to help society in an emergency: we have always been there to cope with danger, natural disaster and cleaning up afterward. The Air Force also deserves praise for exemplary management, sparing use of material resources, services to the national economy. These actions also result from the eagerness of airmen, by their worthy attitude, ideological and moral standards, their expert mastery in flying skills, and conscientious fulfillment of their soldier and citizen duties, to repay, at least partially, for the care, friendliness and material aid with which the nation supports our Air Force.

1015

CSO: 2600/1179

CATHOLIC JOURNAL RIDICULES ELECTION REPORTING

Wroclaw NOWE ZYCIE in Polish No 13, 29 Jul-11 Aug 84 pp 11, 16

[Article by Andrzej Milcarz]

[Text] A press spokesman for the government commented on the recent elections to the people's councils in the following manner: "We did not receive any support from any independent clerical authority, and therefore we don't need to share our achievement with any clerical authority."

The situation was obviously different in those remote electoral precincts where the voting had to be repeated as a result of insufficient participation. There the government should share its failure with the clerical authorities. At least such is the opinion of SPRAWY I LUDZIE (No 28), which is the Wroclaw incarnation of RZECZWISTOSC (the kinship between those two titles was explained by Passent in POLITYKA No 11).

According to our mutated RZECZWISTOSC, in the case of Radwanice near Wroclaw that clerical authority was the parish priest: "Those unsuccessful elections were the work of the priest." It really is necessary to give the full description of the underhanded actions of that cleric: "The streets of Radwanice were strangely empty on the day of the elections. People were hiding in their homes. Some walked stealthily in the direction of the school where the voting took place. They were afraid to be seen by their neighbors. Others were afraid of God's punishment and purgatory. The parish vigilantes were all over the village. They were lying in wait in front of the polling place. The loyal parishioners were writing down the names of their neighbors who crossed that threshold. A parish terror. The priest wanted to know those sheep of his flock who went astray. He declared an instant alert. On the day of the elections he called a meeting of the parish council and gave instructions. Reminded the members of hell's torments. Hell, fire and brimstone. He distributed holy pictures. He warned the people once more not to participate in the elections. Advised them to keep their families at home. He also reminded them of the outstanding contributions to the church's building fund. He estimated that each family must contribute...80,000 zlotys. A number of families made the contribution. For the sake of peace, holy peace. He threatened the people who would dare to vote with an additional contribution. Obviously one has to pay for one's sins. The head of the village is not against religion. At one time he even used to visit at the rectory. It is beautiful there, elegant and

stately. A huge portrait of Pilsudski, an eagle with a crown. The parishioners nod their heads in wonder. He is not afraid, he hangs such things in his place. They look at the priest with respect. And this head of the village remembers Pilsudski's followers. He was working for the count, for 50 grosz per day. 'How stupid of the people,' he says, 'glassworks are not enough for them--they want aristocracy.' Those unsuccessful elections are the priest's doing. He is angry at the government."

Who would expect to find this kind of text among election reports, which by nature are serious, neutral, peaceable, dignified and rather dull. This sounds like, if not Nienacki, then at least Marian Reniak. Such a bomb!--terrorism in our own church's backyard. And of our own doing. This we did not expect. We hurry then to our parish priest, the terrorist.

[Question] Reverend Father (maybe we should rather say commander, brigadier, duce, or honorable warrior), we read with the utmost attention and excitement the press release of your actions on that election Sunday.. So, at dawn you have called together your staff, that is, your parish council. How many staff officers have you?

[Answer] There are 12 members of the parish council. But its last meeting took place in March. I can never call a meeting for Sunday morning, because then I celebrate the holy mass, more than once.

[Question] How so, there was no meeting? It is written clearly: "He called a meeting of the parish council and gave instructions." Oh, we understand. The meeting was secret. But we congratulate you--12 people took care of about half of the population of Radwanice, amounting to 2,600 souls. This means about 100 people to a single terrorist. The Red Brigades may come to learn from you. Who are the members of your staff, that is, the parish council? Usually those bodies consist of elderly gentlemen, lively grandmothers, exemplary parents of children. And you, whom do you have there, paratroopers, commandos, part of a regiment? Such results--even financial! A sudden alert, a bit of persuasion on Sunday morning, some preventive and warning talks, and that's it; the same day a number of families took out of their purse 80,000 zlotys each and just gave it. "For the sake of peace." No more worries about contributions and funds for the expansion of the church. They will pay, those "sheep who go astray." With that money the priest-commander will be able to transfer the People's Hall to Radwanice and elevate it to the role of a parish temple and a center of parish terrorism.

[Answer] There wasn't any meeting. Nor any warning not to vote.

[Question] We understand. Secretly. A matter of parish business. But with that huge portrait of Pilsudski the parishioners exaggerate a bit, "nodding their heads in wonder." In Wawel they even keep Pilsudski in person, in a sarcophagus. And ZYCIE LITERACKIE did not call them daring. The business of the eagle and the crown, this is different. Great impudence. This almost equals the so brilliantly displayed nerve of Deputy Janusz Przymanowski (PZPR), who at the first meeting of the Sejm after the

declaration of martial law suggested putting back the crown on our eagle's head. For good! But to equal the impudence of Colonel Przymanowski, this is...

[Answer] I don't have a portrait of Pilsudski, I do have an eagle, but a small one.

[Question] We understand. The temple of memory is also secret.

\* \* \*

We guess that the commander of the parish terror squad probably has no more time to talk to us. We salute him. He answers "Forever and ever. Amen." A real conspiracy.

We hurry now to nearby Mickiewicz Street to the small home of that village head, "who is not against religion, who in the past even used to visit at the rectory." Unfortunately, he has gone to Warsaw. But on hearing this, we already make out the main characteristic of his personality. The village head is as good as the village priest. The priest owns a crowned eagle, and the village head dresses his son (who came to see us at the fence) in battle dress with the U.S. Navy insignia on it. How else? Not just any fleet, but the U.S. Navy.

The boys of Radwanice are very proud. What will happen at the time of elections to the Sejm? Maybe Deputy Przymanowski will choose to start his next term here. One hundred percent of the voters will then appear at the polls in naval uniforms of an enemy fleet and with crowned eagles on their caps. And then editor Adamczyk will have good news for us in SPRAWY I LUDZIE--one hundred percent of votes for our candidate.

P.S. The plural in our questions (for instance: we understand) is not the "royal we"--there simply were two of us. For reasons which are quite clear, to a meeting with the commander of parish terrorism I had to take the newsroom gorilla with me.

12470  
CSO: 2600/1193

ORZECHOWSKI BOOK CONTESTS SCHAFF'S THESIS

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 17, 15 Aug 84 p 15

[Article by Wojciech Pulikowski: "On Paramount Issues"]

[Text] The paths leading to a socialist revolution in individual countries, the defense of victorious revolutions, the consolidation and development of true socialism, etc.--those are the paramount practical-political and theoretical problems of the contemporary world. It is difficult to overestimate the ideological significance of the disputes focused around these issues. For many decades they have comprised not only the harsh plane of battle with opponents of socialism and Marxism-Leninism.

A generalization of the practical experiences of socialist revolution and the building of socialism now in many countries of the world comprises a fundamental element in the evolution of contemporary Marxist-Leninist thought, the theoretical premise of marking subsequent problems facing the international workers' movement and the countries which have true socialism.

The rhythm of ideological life in the present day fixes the depth and scope of the discussion taking place around those problems. Therefore, one should also recognize as an important event in the ideological life of our country the work by Marian Orzechowski entitled "A Dispute About the Marxist Theory of Revolution," recently published by Ksiazkai i Wiedza.

The point of departure and the pretext for the author's broader considerations is the critical assessment of Adam Schaff's views, presented in a book published in Vienna in 1982 under the title "The Communist Movement at the Crossroads," views which in a softened form were introduced to the Polish reader in the columns of some national periodicals. In the first section of his book, Marian Orzechowski, analyzing Adam Schaff's views, points to the spuriousness of his thesis about the immaturity of the objective and subjective conditions for the socialist revolutions that have taken place so far; like "original sin," this supposedly weighed negatively on the entire process of building true socialism. Schaff endeavors to show that the entire ill that, according to him, socialism is stems from the fact that the first socialist revolution flew in the face of Marx's recommendations. Successive revolutions, copying this error, as Schaff maintains, likewise departed from the then famous recommendations of Antonio Gramsci.

This, in effect, is an attempt to oppose Marx to Lenin, with the aim of denying the constructive nature of Leninism. One should add that Schaff's manipulation is not original. He is only copying the already familiar ideas which currently are characteristic of Eurocommunism.\*

Marian Orzechowski persuasively demonstrates that that basic thesis, like many of Adam Schaff's detailed constructed theses, is based on a false picture of true socialism, and on "readymade," poorly interpreted, and moreover only selected passages from the classics.

The author broadly reconstructs the theory of revolution formulated by Marx and Engels, simultaneously giving an example of the proper Marxist mode of interpreting the classics. The evolution of their views emerges in the connection between several pronouncements and concrete historical events, on the basis of the observations on which they were formulated.

A special place in the book is occupied by an analysis of Lenin's productive contribution to the development of the Marxist theory of revolution. In an unusually artistic manner, through a solid grounding in historical realia, a picture unfolds of practical and theoretical dilemmas, the solution of which faced Lenin and the Bolsheviks who were bringing about a socialist revolution in a country that was backward in its economy and its civilization.

This broad treatment of classical Marxist-Leninist thought, the extension to universal theoretical tenets of the classics, constitutes for the author a firm basis for further considerations concerning the problems of the development of socialism in our country. In these parts of the book the reader will find an evaluation of the experiences of the Polish revolution and of the first years after the establishment of the rule of the working class in our country.

Particularly interesting for the contemporary, mainly young, reader is the idea, presented in detail by Marian Orzechowski, of the PZPR's struggle for socialism in Poland. The development of that idea is an example of skilled analysis of changing historical realities. This is also the art of political reflection--reflection that is not trite, that is directed at the future and not the past--on the nation's fate by the leadership of the PZPR. Against a background of international and domestic conditions the author also brings to light the mechanisms that led to the political turn that took place in 1948. The whole horror of the situation is shown, a situation in which increasing sectarian tendencies within the party eventually led to false accusations brought against Wladyslaw Gomulka and his removal from the political scene.

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\* As is known, the Adjudicatory Body of the Central Party Control Commission on 27 June of this year passed a resolution to expel Adam Schaff from the PZPR. It was decided that A. Schaff in his behavior and his proclaimed opinions violated the rules of the party statute to a degree that made the continuation of his membership in the PZPR impossible.

In the section that concludes the book, entitled "Marxism-Leninism in the Face of New Problems," the author turns to the current situation and the immediate past. The negligence and errors that occurred in the socio-political life of the nation resulted from, among other things, a break in the link between theory and social practice, the expression of which was a check in the process of Marxism-Leninism's acquisition of a leading role in intellectual and ideological life. Against the background of the battle over the hegemony of Marxism-Leninism in the intellectual life of the country, of the restoration of that lost bond between socialist theory and social practice, Marian Orzechowski presents the gist of the programmatic thought of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR.

"A feature of the present stage of development of socialism in Poland," writes the author, "is the fact that the primary issue is becoming the restoration of its place in all areas of social life, the development and strengthening of its contents and values" (p 348). Considerations regarding actual conditions for the realization of this fundamental task conclude the last part of the book.

In a necessarily brief discussion there is no way to extract and point out all the qualities of Marian Orzechowski's work. They can emerge fully only as one reads the book, which I would like to urge a broad circle of readers to do, above all the active members of the party.

12584  
CSO: 2600/1191

SHORTCOMINGS IN IDEOLOGICAL TRAINING LISTED

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 16, 1 Aug 84 p 7

[Article by Dr Kazimierz Gieron, head of the ideological training sector in the Ideological Department of the PZPR Central Committee: "Ideological Training in Light of the Reinspection"]

[Text] The Secretariat of the PZPR Central Committee, having considered the results of the inspection of training work carried out in 1983 in 208 key enterprises, recommended that the inspection be repeated in May 1984. This was also prompted by the hardly optimistic depiction of that work, as well as by number of critical observations. This justified the need for a new review of the condition of this important sphere of party work.

What is party training like in these enterprises now? What conclusions can be made for the future on the basis of this year's training? What experience has been gained by party organizations and the aktiv involved in this field of party activities?

There Is Progress, But...

The results of a repeat inspection in 188 enterprises indicate that out of 4,216 POP's [basic party organizations] and OOP's [branch shop party organizations], about 90 percent have held three or more ideological meetings. Only 55 POP's and OOP's, or 1.3 percent, did not undertake training at all. These were mainly organizations composed of retired persons. Less than 3 percent of all basic organizations have held one ideological meeting.

The results of inspections show that there has been perceptible improvement over the situation of December 1983. As was reported at the time, close to one-fourth of all KZ's [plant committees] had not at all undertaken training.

The situation in studying mandatory topics is much worse. Before the end of this year, only the POP's reporting to 31 KZ's (or 16.5 percent) have scheduled these topics. It is worth mentioning that by the time of inspection all POP's in 27 KZ's had held meetings on the election to people's councils, and in 44 KZ's a majority of POP's and OOP's had done so.

In 85 percent of the POP's, attendance ranged between 51 and 75 percent. Only in 7.5 percent of the POP's did attendance exceed 75 percent. At the same time, in 15 enterprises (8 percent) attendance at ideological meetings was below 50 percent. This problem must be thoroughly considered by all party organizations. At issue here are not the statistics as such, but rather better conditions for invigorating all party members and communicating to them the points included in the program of ideological education. It seems that some KZ's and POP's justify the failure of party members to attend ideological meetings too easily and do not analyze the true (objective) reasons for the failure to carry out this statutory duty of party members.

The reinspection has fully borne out the opinion formed during visits in December 1983: most ideological meetings contain lively and interesting presentations supplemented by elements of discussion. Nonetheless, as a rule, the level of activity of party members in the course of the discussions still remains rather low. The discussants concentrate on the issue of immediate interest to them which reflect a certain state of affairs in their community. The ability to tie the problems they encounter in their lives to the framework of topics is a rarity. Among other things, this testifies to a superficial linkage between the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the practice of social activity and the lack of skills of resorting to theory in analyzing production, social and everyday issues, and so on.

It is unfortunate that the principle of having an ideological meeting as the first section of the statutory meeting, formulated by the Secretariat of the PZPR Central Committee, is not always observed. Sometimes the ideological discussion is held in a hurry, without having the main ideas accentuated. Also, the discussion seldom results in the formulation of the tasks in ideological work which follow from the meeting.

#### The Need for Innovative Forms

In a majority of POP's, the manifestations of innovation in methods are lacking, as are attempts at approaches which make it possible to draw all participants of an ideological meeting into the discussion. The KZ of the M. Buczek Ball Bearings Plant in Krasnik provides an example of efficient action in this sphere. There, two or three trainees are entrusted with preparing a meeting and presenting the topic. The lecturer moderates the discussion, offers the necessary additional material and generalizations. Similarly, one of the POP's in the EDA enterprise in Poniatowa resorted to a panel discussion at its meeting. These examples, some of the many we came across during the inspection, point to the need to draw the audience persistently in various ways into preparing and holding an ideological meeting.

About 4,800 lecturers are active in the party organizations under inspection. Statistically, this is slightly better than one lecturer per POP or OOP. A majority of KZ's (58 percent) carry out their programs of party training using only their own lecturers. However, about 40 percent of KZ's invite outside lecturers along with their own cadres.

The view, still espoused by a considerable segment of the KZ's and POP's, of the higher efficiency of ideological meetings led by outside lecturers is a cause for concern. After all, it is known that the practice of ideological upbringing calls for organizing lecturer teams of every KZ. These lecturers are more knowledgeable about their milieu and the concerns of party members. Certainly, it is possible and advisable to exchange lecturers between enterprises, especially if lecturers are specialized in a particular field.

#### Work With the Lecturers

Unfortunately, enterprises with a large and well-trained cadre cling to the principle of using outside lecturers, and due to this do not have in-house lecturers. Hence the question of where the lecturers are supposed to come from to party organizations which objectively have no chance of training them in-house. Lecturer training is also in bad shape. Sending lecturers to seminars, lectures and courses at higher echelons is the most frequently used solution. A majority of KZ's resort to this. A quite numerous segment of KZ's (32 percent) set up various forms of lecturer training in the enterprises, receiving at the same time assistance from the higher echelon. However, only 10 percent of the largest KZ's train lecturers by in-house means alone.

For several months now, the number of PZPR candidates has been apparently on the increase. However, this is not accompanied by their training. It follows from the inspection that a formidable majority of KZ's (90 percent) organize training for candidates, whereas the rest (it hurts to say this) do not engage in such work at all. Attendance and the presence of candidates in the classroom also cause us serious concern. Apart from commuting to the training sessions (often organized by the basic echelon or the ROPP [regional party work center], the barely perceptible interest of relevant POP's in this problem is the main reason for this state of affairs. Sometimes the KZ does not even have a program for training candidates.

The view of candidate training outlined here is similar to that of the CKR [Central Audit Commission], which reviewed training activities in 40 enterprise party organizations in 4 provinces. It follows from the CKR calculations that out of the total of 258 candidates who should have been receiving training, only 59 comrades (or 23 percent of those selected for training) had received it in reviewed party organizations by the time of inspection (March-April 1984).

The results of the reinspection described above allow us to assert that enterprise organizations have made a considerable effort in improving the political knowledge of the aktiv functionaries. This was one of the basic conditions of ensuring an adequate pace of work in party organizations. In the enterprises reviewed, more than 330 courses were organized by the end of May of this year. About 15,000 aktiv representatives took part in the courses, most of them POP or OOP secretaries. On top of that, about 6,000 aktiv members were trained by the higher echelon. Topically, the courses

were centered on the main problems of party program and policy and on the methods of party activity. It causes us concern, however, that 15 KZ's had not trained their aktiws either in-house or in party echelons, as was revealed by the inspection.

Many aktiv members study at the WUML [evening university of Marxism-Leninism]. In the enterprises reviewed, close to 3,200 employees, party and non-party members alike, attend the universities. WUML branches operate in one-third of the enterprises.

Inspection teams also looked into the issue of using WUML graduates from previous years in political work. It is worth mentioning that a vast majority of the KZ's have been employing this cadre correctly. For the most part, they serve as lecturers in ideological training classes. However, the fact that more than 14 percent of the KZ's do not use their graduates as lecturers must give rise to concern. It should be asked whether such a situation can be tolerated in the environment of acute personnel shortages.

It follows from inspection materials that a vast majority of KZ's viewed positively the relevance of study aids for ideological training. However, the current state of subscriptions or allocation of such materials is a cause for concern. For example, the KZ of the Szombierki coal mine in Bytom receives one copy of IDEOLOGIA I POLITYKA, two copies of ZAGADNIENIA I MATERIALY and one copy of SUGESTIE. Therefore, it is impossible to make these materials available to a larger number of party members. Thus, it is not possible for them to prepare for a discussion at an ideological meeting. At the Ball Bearings Plant, the number of TRYBUNA LUDU inserts is not sufficient for all POP's and OOP's. The lack of visual propaganda materials such as posters, topical leaflets, slogans, etc., is also apparent.

The results of the May inspection of the state of party training in key enterprises paint a much more positive picture than that of December 1983, though they are still far from satisfactory. They are not satisfactory in view of both the need for improving the ideological and political knowledge of the PZPR membership and the opportunities for such an improvement in basic party organizations. There are certain results where the KZ leadership appreciates the significance of training--this much has been proven.

In their evaluation of the past year of ideological training, the KZ's must analyze this work very thoroughly, covering both the positive and negative aspects. They must draw conclusions for constructing a plan of training for next year. The significance of such work in the new year has been highly enhanced by the resolutions of the 16th Plenum of the Central Committee, the first workers' plenum in the history of the party.

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GENERAL MILEWSKI DISCUSSES CAREER, ACTIVITIES

Lomza KONTAKTY in Polish 22 Jul 84 pp 8,9

[Interview with Div Gen Miroslaw Milewski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, by Stanislaw Zielinski: "The Call of Poland, the Call of Family"; date and place not given]

[Text] Today we present the answers of Miroslaw Milewski to our questionnaire.

1. Do you like yourself?

-- I respect people, myself included.

2. What is your main virtue?

-- I never ask myself such a question.

3. What about a shortcoming?

-- Others should tell you that.

4. What character trait do you appreciate the most: a) in your subordinates, b) in higher-ups?

-- In both cases, truthfulness.

5. What shortcoming would you wish your enemies to have?

-- They are what they are. That's life.

6. Whom are you less tolerant of: a stupid opponent or an intelligent flatterer?

-- People do have their limitations.

7. What have you always been the best at?

-- I have always been convinced that I could have done something better than it actually worked out.

8. When can the use of force be justified?

-- For the force of argument, always.

9. What divides people the most: age, social background, money, world-view, position?

-- Let us think of what unites or can unite people. Then results will be better.

10. Would you please finish the sentence: "For a man, an idea is...  
-- the rationale of his life."

11. What is an absolute masterpiece for you?  
-- The ideals which I serve.

12. In what company do you feel the best?  
-- Among genuine friends. That also goes for my wife.

13. What are you most ashamed of in your life?  
-- I have no complexes.

14. What are you proud of?  
-- I am who I am.

15. Except Poland, what other country would you like to reside permanently in?  
-- Nowhere outside of Poland.

16. Who is the most outstanding figure in the history of Poland?  
-- There have been and are no people without shortcomings, which is not to say that they have no virtues. I avoid being excited with one attitude (or person).

17. Who is the most despicable person in human history?  
-- The answer is as above (even scoundrels have been acclaimed as saints).

18. When is a man rich?  
-- When he reduces his needs to the opportunities for meeting those needs.

19. What should be the maximum range of income?  
-- I voted in favor of the resolution of the Ninth Congress.

20. In your opinion, what does adjusting to the situation mean?  
-- It is better to be yourself.

21. Do you always believe that two plus two equals four?  
-- When I believe something, I mean it.

22. Whose remuneration should be the highest: that of an outstanding scientist, an artist, a craftsman or a politician?  
-- From everyone according to his ability, to everyone according to his work--this is for today and for the nearest future.

23. What do you believe in?  
-- In the idea which I serve.

24. Should a politician reform society in line with his convictions or in line with the society's desires?  
-- I am a member of the PZPR. I have voted in favor of its statute which sets down precisely the tasks of the membership with regard to the society.

25. If I were deciding the fate of the country myself, I would make the following decisions:  
-- I value the country too highly in order to assume that its fate may be decided by just one man.

26. How do you reconcile your private and public posture?  
-- The best I can.

27. Do you believe that within 5 years a nuclear confrontation is possible?  
-- It is possible anytime. I believe that reason would prevail so that it will not come about.

28. What do you conjure up when you hear the words: a) patriot?  
-- Internationalist.

(b) communist?  
-- Patriot-internationalist.

29. The shortcomings of Poles are:  
-- Our enemies ascribe shortcomings to us in excess. Let us think about promoting virtues, of which there is no dearth, but we do not remember them.

30. What about the virtues?  
-- The Poles have survived 1,000 years. They are who they are.

32. [sic] Criticism for me is:  
-- A return to actual reality, parting with illusions.

42. [sic] What above all would you like to convince the Poles of?  
-- Of our fate being in our own hands.

33. What would you like to convince yourself of?  
-- It does not make any sense to convince the already committed. I act according to my convictions.

Stanislaw Zielinski talks with Div Gen Miroslaw Milewski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, about the search for an answer to the question: "How should one live?", about the acute feeling of being Polish, creative unrest, the role of chance, the cult of personality, the security organs, social turmoil, attempts to belittle the achievements of the last 40 years, loyalty to an idea, battle with

the enemy, the perils of standing idly by and the refreshing impact of a visit to one's home town.

[Question] Comrade General, you have been associated for many years with the security system of the people's state. This dates back to the early days, when as a 16-year-old boy you started your service as the son of the regiment.

[Answer] Chance can also decide the fate of a person. In 1944, western Belorussia was a much wider notion, as it included also a part of Bialystok Province. This is why immediately after the liberation of this area Soviet soldiers had the responsibility of taking care of the orphans. In Lipsk two were found; however, the father of the other one was located soon. I was a young soldier of the Red Army for 3 months, until Osowiec on the Narew was captured by the Red Army. After all, I had a uniform and a rifle. There were nine of us from five different localities.

In Borsukowka in the vicinity of Knyszyn I was asked to sign a statement of consent to a course of study at a Soviet military academy. I refused on the advice of one of the peasants of that village, because, after all, I grew up in a Polish household, in a Polish family, I felt Polish. I also explained that to my elderly grandparents, whom I had to take care of. So, I was referred to the security system. I worked there for 36 years and 6 months.

[Question] I happened to hear that you have found the most comprehensive answer to the question: "How should one live?" in the advice of Vladimir Mayakovskiy: "Live as Comrade Dzerzhinskiy did."

[Answer] I think that everything I have done as a party member, a citizen, a functionary of the security service has always given me satisfaction, but also left a feeling that it could have been done better.

[Question] Were you guided by the notion of "creative unrest"?

[Answer] And why not? Every person tires to live his life to the fullest. Therefore, he is in part a master of his own destiny. Others would draw an analogy with the work of a blacksmith.

[Question] In some periods of the post-war 40 years, the representatives of the security organs have been looked upon with, to put it mildly, mistrust. Their work has naturally been and is clandestine. However, in times of turmoil the backstage aspect of it becomes somewhat visible. Following October 1956, the press carried startling revelations of the employees and those who had to deal with them, revealing the details from the period of the personality cult. At the time, they upset public opinion and created an unfavorable environment for the "security." That page of our history has been turned. However, a certain prejudice remains, despite the changes.

[Answer] Our society is not fully aware of the important function of these organs in the people's state, of their tremendous contribution to People's Poland. In 1944, Poland entered a new historic era. No revolution can be made in white gloves. Those most committed, believers in the future of People's Poland, came under attack from all the advocates of the past bourgeois system. This attack has continued to this day with varying strength. At the time I served in Augustow, there were only seven of us, whereas well-armed bands several dozen strong operated in nearby forests and localities.

To be sure, there have been situations where an innocent person became a victim. This does happen in battle. However, let us examine the facts: 22,000 people died then fighting for People's Poland, whereas only one-third as many of our enemies died. Even then, under the conditions of struggle, the activities of the authorities were highly differentiated. First of all, the intention was to stabilize the situation in the country. One amnesty was declared in 1945; 3 years later there was another one. There were yet other amnesties later--all in the name of drawing people away from the slogans and demagoguery of our enemy. Many of these people are now committed activists dedicated to the people's motherland.

The last band in Bialystok Province was eliminated in 1953. However, as early as 1948 several functionaries of the security service were tried for using methods unauthorized by law during investigations. I remember that at one of the trials three functionaries were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for beating up three citizens. The year 1956 revealed other facts of violation of the principles of the rule of law, mainly in the central echelon, in the so-called 10th Department. Punishment was meted out to those guilty. Even today it may so happen that a functionary violates the law, and is held responsible for it. This, however, cannot influence the favorable view of the employees of a security system dedicated to the service. After all, it is no secret that at the early stages of people's power certain functionaries had the courage to join the bands, in accordance with orders, in order to bring their operations to a halt. There were cases like that in the area of Lomza. Similarly, in later years, in the name of protecting the interests of Poland, some employees of these services have with total commitment monitored, revealed and frustrated the plans of NATO headquarters aimed against Poland and other countries of the socialist community. Many functionaries have been injured defending the well-being, health and property of the citizens, protecting them from the activity of criminals.

Question In recent years, our country has been the stage for street demonstrations. The number of injured functionaries has far exceeded that of injured rioters. How does that compare with the image of the MO [Civil Militia] which our enemies are spreading?

Answer This is another example of how the image of our service is distorted by hostile propaganda. This is an example of deliberate attitudes of the functionaries.

What was our country like after the war? It was a pile of rubble. Workers, peasants, progressive intelligentsia and also the functionaries of the security service and militia paid a price for its reconstruction and development. We would not have achieved what we have in the past 40 years without mass mobilization, without changing the political system and fully learning the lesson of the year 1939 and the tragedy of war.

[Question] We mentioned the junctures of Polish history, the attempts to negate and belittle the achievements of 40 years and even deride them. We should also add here the troubles with the generation brought up in People's Poland. Members of this generation somehow do not want to accept the truth of their fathers about the conditions in which these authorities and this people's state embarked on the construction of new order. The drama, the internal struggle, the indecision, the conflicts which are the fate of those in positions of authority are seldom revealed. Would you be willing to try to view our post-war history from this personal angle?

[Answer] If someone opts for the path of serving Marxist-Leninist ideology, he must be totally loyal to it with all the ensuing consequences. In my life, there also have been periods of disappointment, of personal breakdown. However, I think that anyone who believes in the power of the idea he serves can overcome temporary difficulties. The latter often result in part from someone overlooking something, despite being responsible for looking deeper into the matter. At times, our tasks exceeded our potential, and therefore we were not up to the tasks. I believe that everyone of us tries to learn from postwar history, especially from the situations, when it turned out that even those who meant well were not up to the responsibilities they were entrusted with.

Does the young generation fail to accept the truths of their fathers? I would take issue with that, because the argument of youth being bad does not convince me, though the passing generation has always been critical of it. After all, young people do not have the rich experience of their fathers. Often they were brought up in greenhouse conditions, spoiled and fondled and later tossed out into brutal life. Then the image of reality cherished and idealized by parents and educators would turn out to be unrealistic. However, if young people are properly informed about the things they can expect, they will be ready for sacrifice. I believe that life will bear this out more than once. In my opinion, in criticizing the younger generation the older generation also shifts to the young the burden of its own guilt and shortcomings. Maybe it is due to this that young people do not always want to accept the truths of their fathers. However, the responsibility for that does not rest entirely with the young people.

[Question] What dilemmas have you had to face in these periods of rapid changes and currently? Did they change along with the changes in leadership and the sociopolitical situation? What was their influence on your personal and professional activities?

[Answer] I have always been concerned with not losing face in the milieu where I live, in front of people, of those closest to me. I've been concerned with acting in accordance with my convictions, with being able to look myself in the eye quietly while having a shave. Have I been able to accomplish that? I would say yes, regardless of the leadership. Concerning the latter, I can say just one thing: their work is indeed very difficult, even when the situation in the country is stable and development is harmonious. Even then they have to see to it that the forecasts and, subsequently, the decisions made are in the interest of the people and the state. However, it is tragic when the leaders mean well but it turns out that something could not be predicted. This leads to their own tragedy, because they really wished well, even put their life on the line in order to make it better, but nonetheless had to accept moral or administrative consequences.

[Question] Between October 1980 and July 1981 you were the minister of internal affairs, and earlier, for approximately 10 years, an under-secretary of state in the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Currently, you have new responsibilities. Which of these social obligations seems to be the most difficult?

[Answer] None was an easy one. However, each successive position was associated with increased responsibilities and a degree of difficulty. It seemed to me that, having served for 10 years as a deputy minister of internal affairs, I had come to know all the secrets and that nothing could surprise me anymore. This was not true; I assumed the responsibilities of minister at an especially complex time. It did not ever cross my mind that I would be working as a secretary of the Central Committee some time later.

I had many apprehensions when I accepted that post; I have them to this day--after all, the times are still difficult. The delegates at the [PZPR] National Conference were also sincere about that. They acknowledged the achievements, but submitted that some of the matters did not work out, though the people did not spare any effort. This was also confirmed by the latest Central Committee plenum, with numerous working class representatives. At the plenum, there was no lack of applause, but of harsh criticism just as well.

[Question] In one of the interviews given in the beginning of this year, you said, among other things: "One must be able to cope on his own and fight for his cause. Then, allies will turn up who will certainly help. However, one cannot just stand idly by." How was this adage borne out in the positions of a security service functionary, a general and a Central Committee secretary?

[Answer] A person who always openly presents his point of view must after a while receive a positive response. Even if the response is negative, at least there is an explanation as to why. If such arguments are

convincing, he must either recognize his opinion to be erroneous or persuade the others of his rationale. I have always adhered to this principle and I still believe that persistent action can bring about better solutions. Many times I have met people who did not have that kind of persistence. They would tell me about matters which could be decided on the spot and would at the same time wait for the "higher-ups" to do it for them.

I admit that advancing your views is sometimes costly to your nerves; it also brings about temporary difficulties. However, on balance it commands respect and in a majority of cases does not fail. In that case, a person can fall victim to fewer dangers, in the time of change as well.

[Question] How did you manage to reconcile this presentation of your views at the meetings which, after all, adopted different resolutions with the principles of democratic centralism before the years 1956, 1970 and 1980?

[Answer] I have always had my own opinion, though often it was not shared by the majority. Even the defeat which I met then brought me satisfaction because I acted in accordance with my conscience and the PZPR statute.

[Question] Judging from the quoted motto of your life, it would seem that your every day is strictly programmed. Which matters are the most important? Which are the most difficult to handle?

[Answer] Primarily, these are everyday matters, associated with the current implementation of the resolutions of the Ninth Congress in the best possible way. This is an inherent concern of the entire leadership team of the Central Committee. On the surface, it may seem that everything has been programmed and adopted at the Ninth Congress. However, life brings still many more new issues. At times, their scope is marginal, but they demand time for an immediate solution. I am trying to detach myself from matters of secondary importance in order to concentrate on those most important, which should be considered thoroughly. I must admit, however, that this does not always work out in the sphere of organization. We keep on working despite the principles of recreation. There are problems whose solutions depend on the schedule of the Politburo of the Central Committee or the Secretariat. There are also issues which I raise myself. Reconciling these duties is not easy. However, I cannot recall someone in the Central Committee waiting for me. I am always able to receive every visitor at a prearranged time. Otherwise, I apologize and tell him that the time of the meeting cannot be kept. This is the organizational experience of my previous work.

[Question] Where do family and household affairs, recreation and reading rank among your priorities?

[Answer] I have nothing to boast. In my house, I have been a guest for years. It is enough for me to come home earlier once in a while to have everyone looking at me with surprise and wishing to know what happened. I have not been to a movie or the theater for a long time. I do read a lot; however, mostly it is required reading.

[Question] "I have been in many countries, I have crossed all continents. I have visited royal palaces and seen the worst poverty on the face of the Earth. However, whenever I am abroad I miss Poland, and inside Poland I miss my home locality." This is what I read in the book "Lipsk on the Biebrza." What prompted you to make that statement in your memoirs? Does it lead to actual homecomings?

[Answer] A stay in my home town, among the people who, to be sure, are not the same, but just as emotionally attached to this locality reminds me of my old world and time, where authenticity and sincerity came easier. It was everything that the great civilized world sometimes regards as a vestige of the past. It would be difficult for me to be totally myself unless I refreshed myself by a visit to my native land.

[Question] Lipsk on the Biebrza is famous for the good management and vigorous activity of the Association of Friends of the city. The city owes to the association, among other things, an electronic plant, a modern well-equipped school, a regional museum, a gas station and a memorial to 59 hostage residents of Lipsk (among them were the parents and sister of our interlocutor). Rumor has it that many matters have been settled precisely due to your assistance.

[Answer] I am very attached to my native land.

[Question] Notwithstanding numerous theoreticians and scoffers who hold local patriotism in contempt and assert that it does not facilitate a broader approach to issues, but gives rise to social divisions and strengthens alienation?

[Answer] I am not afraid of being accused of parochialism, because I believe that reasonable aid to one's home town is a patriotic duty of every person. After all, we are living in a very complex and difficult period of dynamic transformation in Poland, but also in a time of various events slowing down the advancement of many localities towards civilization. In my opinion, it can only be positive if someone who is better endowed due to his position or knowledge wants to give a share to his community.

[Question] Do you read the Lozma periodical KONTAKTY?

[Answer] I am somewhat behind on my reading. The ambitious effort of the editorial team stands out. The team displays a lot of ingenuity in presenting the opinions of people who are famous in the country. The efforts aimed at enlivening work with young people, as well as those aimed at

promoting social activities through organizing unconventional attractive events, are promising. I can recall the times when the residents of Lomza were a very active community. The association has been relatively dormant as of late. I would recommend that the editorial team remember the people from the region. There are many people from Lomza in Warsaw, among other places. They would be much more indebted if they could see in the press more publications about the people they used to know in the past and about the development of their native areas, about their troubles and achievements. It may be useful to recall from time to time that in certain localities people show interest in someone who came from their area but forgot about it. This is not meant as criticism of your weekly. I am in great sympathy with the efforts of the editorial team and the measures to make Lomza a genuinely prosperous province, where people feel well. I respect and hail such activities.

[Question] What message would you like to convey to our readers on the eve of the [22] July holiday?

[Answer] The 40th anniversary of the people's motherland is a good occasion on which to present objectively the results of our efforts in many spheres of our life. The younger generation does not remember the point of departure 40 years ago. This should be driven home as fully as possible, without sidestepping the fact that despite our sincere wishes some things did not come off or work out.

Today's Lomza Province has been, after all, the area of pitched battles over the new image of Poland. Many avid fighters for socialism lost their lives in the battle. Due to socialism, the conditions of life and advancement in the once backward area have radically changed. Despite the many problems still awaiting a solution, a comparison of achievements and the point of departure will bring home how much can be done if the efforts of all patriots residing in the province are pooled.

I wish all the residents of the province many further achievements and satisfaction. I wish the editorial team of KONTAKTY the realization of its ambitions and the recognition of a wide community of readers.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

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ROMANIA

ECONOMIC, CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT UNDER SOCIALISM REVIEWED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 39 No 8, Aug 84 (signed to press 10 Jul 84)  
pp 732-736

[Article by G. Vehres, political staff member of the SED CC: "Romania--40 Years After the Liberation from Fascism"]

[Text] The crushing of German fascism, the chief burden of which was borne by the heroically struggling peoples of the Soviet Union, had a crucial influence on the peoples' further destiny and fundamentally changed the international correlation of forces in favor of the forces of peace, democracy and social progress.

Four decades have passed since the struggle of the Soviet peoples and their Red Army, which performed the decisive contribution to liberating Europe's peoples from fascist slavery and rescuing world civilization, entered a new stage. The first country whose national borders the Soviet armed forces crossed in pursuit of their liberation mission in March 1944 was Romania.

Despite persecution and illegality, the Romanian communists, heading their people's national liberation struggle, multiplied their efforts in ousting the fascist regime in the country and brought broad popular masses into the struggle. The Red Army advance inspired the Romanian patriots for decisive combat operations: Under communist party leadership, through an armed national antifascist popular uprising, they ousted the fascist regime under Antonescu on 23 August 1944; on 30 and 31 August, enthusiastically welcomed by the population of the capital, Red Army units and parts of the Romanian First Volunteer Division Tudor Vladimirescu, formed by Romanian patriots on USSR territory, entered Bucharest that had been liberated by the insurgents under these beneficial conditions. On the Soviet Union's side, Romania fought against Hitler fascism after 23 August. Tens of thousands of Soviet and Romanian soldiers gave their lives to the battles for the liberation of Romania.

The Historic Turning Point

The people's insurrection on 23 August 1944 started the people's democratic revolution in Romania for establishing the workers and farmers power. While in the first three governments after the people's insurrection rightist forces still held the crucial influence, the first people's democratic government was formed after they were pushed out on 6 March 1945.

The overthrow of the monarchy and the proclaiming of the republic on 30 December 1947 were important steps toward the conquest of political power by the workers class in alliance with the peasants and the other working strata. Pervasive changes in the economic, social and political field were initiated under Romanian communist leadership.

Four decades are a relatively brief historic period in the life of a country. Yet precisely in these decades the biggest social transformations in the centuries-old history of the country came about as Romania was transformed from a backward agrarian country into a socialist industrial-agrarian state.

The nationalization of the means of production, land reform, school reform and the collectivization of agriculture were initiated and successfully carried out under Romanian communist leadership. The life of the people changed from top to bottom.

There was a fiftyfold increase in industrial production in the years of socialist construction, farm production grew to 3.5 times as much as it had been and the national income, to 15 times. The Romanian economy now got an efficient material-technical base. Many new industrial branches, up to the construction of aircraft, have evolved. The map of the socialist republic of Romania has strikingly changed in that in recent decades names of dozens of new towns, workers' settlements, industrial installations, highways and canals were added to it. A fully co-operative agriculture, equipped more and more with modern technology, shapes the appearance of the Romanian village.

Science, culture and art went through a tremendous development. The working people achieved a basic change of its standard of living. The urban and rural working people's income grew to 6.4 times of what it had been. Two thirds of the new available housing were built in the years of the people's power. This country, which prior to World War II placed way back among the European states in terms of its educational level and had an almost 40-percent illiteracy rate in its population, today stands up to the most progressive countries in the world in terms of its educational system. The whole country made the transition to free ten-grade general school education. Today Romania also trains specialists for other states. The country's universities, colleges and technical schools train 20,000 young people from abroad, mainly from young national states.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, stated at the party conference in December 1982: "In looking at our fatherland's development through the course of its heavy and agitated history, we can maintain with justified pride that socialism alone created the conditions needed for rapidly eliminating our backwardness and underdevelopment and ensured Romania's tremendous development in all areas of activity. Throughout this whole time span the RCP fulfilled its historic mission in honor of organizing and directing the struggle and efforts of the Romanian people toward the great revolutionary transformations, toward socialist victory."

## Far-reaching Goals

Relying on the results in laying the foundations of socialism, the RCP, the leadership force of society, at its 11th party congress in 1974 staked out the targets of continued social development by adopting the "RCP program for the construction of the all-round developed socialist society and Romania's advancing toward communism." Through an accelerated development of the urban and rural productive forces and through raising the people's material and intellectual-cultural standard of living, the prerequisites are meant to be engendered for further social progress.

Fulfilling the resolutions of the 12th RCP Congress of November 1979 is regarded as an important stage toward implementing that program. The urban and rural working people accomplished much in solving the tasks assigned to them. In the first 2 years of the 1981-1985 Five-Year Plan, the net industrial output rose by 7 percent and the commodity production by 4 percent. In 1983, industrial commodity production rose by 4.8 percent. The cooperative farmers brought in a record harvest of more than 20 million tons of grain. The national income grew by 3.4 percent.

In assessing the status reached in economic and social development, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, announced at the expanded plenary session of the RCP Central Committee in 1982 that Romania no longer showed today "the marks of a developing country in many fields" and that the Romanian socialist society was marked "by an all-round economic, scientific and cultural development of the people."

The RCP is the initiator of the struggle by the Romanian working people for further advancing along the socialist path. In all domains of public life the 3.3 million party members are out in front in their work and their social activities. In getting set for its 13th party congress, the RCP aims its efforts at consolidating the party's leadership role in all fields of activity. We are seeking to perfect our political-ideological work, as was announced at the Central Committee session in June 1984, to raise the party's ideological and political level and its fighting spirit and strengthen its radiating into all classes and strata of the population so that the party will live up to its responsibility to the whole people.

With reference to the requirements for socialist construction in the current phase and in view of the altered foreign economy conditions, the RCP directs the working people toward greater efforts so as to make up for the losses in tempo experienced in the early 1980's and guarantee a dynamic development even under the more complicated conditions. The transition to intensive development is meant to be speeded up. Thus we consider the complete use of the capacities produced in past years a most pertinent task. Great efforts are being made to improve the material-technical base in conformity with the scientific-technical progress requirements and for making social production more effective. Industrial development will continue to receive special attention. It gets an important part of investments, constantly growing at an accumulation rate of 30 to 33 percent. Today Romanian industry produces 60 percent of the country's national income, whereas its share in 1938 came to only 30.8 percent. On one day the industrial

working people are producing 40,000 tons of steel, 200 million kwh of electrical energy, 400 automobiles, 9,700 tons of synthetic fertilizers, 730 tons of chemical fiber, and 408,000 pairs of shoes. Under the auspices of the preparation for the 40th anniversary of the antifascist people's insurrection, the Black Sea-Danube Canal, built over the last 8 years, was completed. With its dimensions, ports and locks and other technical engineering installations, it attests to the efficiency of the Romanian economy.

In the forefront of the economic efforts have been placed the demands for a fast development of our own energy and raw materials base, for a more rational use of our resources, and for doubling our labor productivity by 1990. Agriculture, in conformity with the programs issued by the party, has been assigned the task to create the premises for perceptible production increases by improving soil fertility, setting up irrigation devices for between 50 and 60 percent of our acreage and by preventing soil erosion. The labor contest in honor of our 40th anniversary wholly comes under the auspices of this orientation.

#### Peace and Social Progress

Romania is developing its foreign policy activity in developing multiple co-operation relations with all states and solving the global problems of today. As a member of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA, Romania takes part in the multilateral cooperation of the socialist countries. Together with the USSR and the other fraternal socialist countries, Romania advocates the preservation and consolidation of peace and the curbing of the arms race. It is deeply concerned that peace has become more imperiled. International tension--as Romania is assessing it together with the other fraternal countries in the CEMA countries' declaration, "The Preservation of Peace and International Economic Cooperation,"--has greatly increased because of the confrontation course by aggressive imperialist circles, mainly those of the United States, their attempts at achieving military superiority, and their engaging in a policy of force, interference in domestic affairs, the violation of the national independence and sovereignty of the states, and the consolidation and redistribution of "influence spheres." This situation, tense as it is, has been further aggravated by the deployment started in some NATO states of U.S. intermediate-range missiles.\* A constructive and realistic program by the fraternal socialist states for settling current world problems, in the collective preparation of which Romania took part, is contained in the Political Declaration of the Warsaw Pact States adopted in Prague on 5 January 1983 and in the Joint Declaration of the Highest Party and State Representatives of Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Romania, the USSR and the CSSR, adopted on 28 June 1983 in Moscow. In conformity with those documents, the attendants of the economic conference of CEMA in Moscow, in June 1984, held on the highest level, with Romania included, corroborated their resolve to dedicate themselves to the safeguarding of peace and the recovery of international relations.

The centerpiece of our foreign policy activity, as the RCP always affirms, is the development of friendship and all-round cooperation with all socialist countries. Romania advocates the further development and perfecting of cooperation,

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\*Cf. "Declaration of CEMA Member Countries, The Preservation of Peace and International Economic Cooperation," EINHEIT, No 7, 1984, pp 589 ff.

the deepening of specialization and cooperation among the CEMA countries. In that it finds a contribution to solving the current problems in the economic development of the socialist countries through joint efforts, which include securing the energy, raw material and food requirements, an accelerated development and application of progressive technical and technological solutions, and a better utilization of material and manpower resources and of the production of the scientific-technical potentials. That will contribute--as Romania determined together with the fraternal states at the economic conference of the CEMA countries in Moscow in June 1984--to each country's economic and social progress, to elevating the material and intellectual standard of living of their peoples, and to consolidating the strength, unity and cohesiveness of the socialist countries.

Romania pays special attention--as was emphasized during the visit by a Romanian party and government executive delegation in the USSR in June 1984--to cooperation with the USSR, which has a long and solid tradition. Further measures to extend and reinforce political and economic cooperation were agreed on. One fifth of its foreign trade turnover Romania transacts with the USSR, its largest foreign trade partner. Together with other CEMA countries, Romania has been involved in investment projects on USSR territory. That pertains to setting up production capacities for cellulose in Ust-Ilimsk and for asbestos in Kiyembayev and to the natural gas pipeline from Chkalov to the western border of the USSR.

The SED and the RCP are linked by firm bonds of traditional solidarity between the German and Romanian workers movement, of joint goals in the construction of socialism, and in the struggle for securing peace. The GDR and Romania have developed their cooperation in conformity with the stipulations in the friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance treaty of 12 May 1972. In the relations between the two fraternal countries, economic and scientific-technical cooperation covers a decisive ground. The framework for extending it is the "long-term program for the main trends in economic and scientific-technical cooperation, specialization and cooperation between the GDR and Romania, up to 1990," which was signed by the prime ministers of the GDR and Romania. An extensive contribution to the planned deepening of cooperation for mutual benefit came from the joint government commission for economic cooperation. The GDR today, after the USSR, has become the second largest trade partner of Romania. Their mutual trade helps solve such important economic tasks as raw material and energy provisioning, intensification, and ensuring public supplies. Important items in GDR deliveries are products of the metal processing industry, pit mining equipment, machine tools, lifting and transport equipment, ships, electrical engineering and electronics commodities, and technical durables. Romania in turn sends items to us that are of importance both for implementing investments and for provisioning the population. That includes metallurgical equipment, machine tools, electrical engineering commodities, automobiles, technical durables, and products of agriculture and the foodstuffs industry.

The fruitful and close cooperation between our parties, states and peoples covers all sectors of public life and moved to a new level in the outcome of the visit by a party and government delegation headed by Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, in Bucharest in June 1980. This is what Erich Honecker said on that

occasion: "The friendship that links our parties, states and peoples is firm and strong. We share the same interests and goals. Both countries carry on the development of socialist society. Close cooperation has developed between us in many different areas that is bearing good fruits. The motor for it is the fraternal internationalist fellowship between the RCP and the SED on the basis of Marxism-Leninism."<sup>\*</sup>

Romania's successful development in the four decades since 23 August 1944, since the liberation from the fascist yoke, demonstrates, as does the advance of socialism in the other fraternal countries, that socialism can solve the complicated national and international problems. The socialist countries have achieved impressive successes in economics, culture, education and health, in bringing to realization the equality and friendship between the nations and in creating favorable conditions for the development of human personality. This has come to pass under the leadership by the communist and workers parties and through the arduous efforts of the peoples in the socialist states, thanks to their close collaboration and to their surmounting all difficulties that arose. The example of the CEMA countries, their accomplishments in socialist and communist construction, and the consolidation of the relations of friendship and cooperation among them have a great positive influence on developments in the world.

<sup>\*</sup>Erich Honecker, "Permanent Peace Is and Remains a Communist Ideal," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 28-29 June 1980, p 3.

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COUNCIL MEMBER DISCUSSES CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL SYSTEM

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 17 Jul 84 pp 11-14

[Interview with Dr Jovan Marjanovic, professor of political science in Belgrade and member of the Federal Social Council for Social Questions, by Slavko Curuvija: "Average Awareness Cannot Lead; Critical Analysis of Political System"]

[Text] Dr Jovan Marjanovic, professor and member of the Federal Social Council for Social Questions, talks about different approaches to making changes in the political system and in the electoral procedure, about representatives who change offices, about demands which lead to the restoration of bourgeois parliamentarism, about etatism as a destructive factor, and about connections between the LCY and authority and technocracy.

After last year's clearly emphatic discussions about the need for a critical analysis of the functioning of our political system, as well as outcries over the nature of the changes, or improvements, in the breadth and depth of analytical penetration, after the in-advance "reorganized enthusiasm" of a part of the public and part of the so-called humanistic intelligence, and similarly the perceptible quieting of this enthusiasm on the part of "political structures," the atmosphere surrounding this undertaking this year is quite a bit calmer. One might even say too calm. Last year's enthusiastic participants are waiting for the first papers to appear in public, political forums are discretely pressuring working groups to "intensify their work," and working groups of the Federal Social Council for Questions Relating to Social Order, formed at the beginning of the year to analyze some segments of the system, are for the most part keeping quiet, and, they say, are doing their job.

We talked with Dr Jovan Marjanovic, deputy director of a working group (for analyzing the delegate system) and full professor of the Department of Political Sciences in Belgrade. He provided some new information about the undertaking as a whole, although he is not engaged in the capacity of a representative of the aforementioned bodies.

[Question] How far along is the analysis of the political system? Working groups were formed at the beginning of the year. What have they done up to now?

[Answer] Five working groups were formed. Their activities have been adequately coordinated, and they are already almost finished writing up reports evaluating current problems in some areas of the functioning of the political system.

[Question] What do these reports contain?

[Answer] Mostly evaluations of problems, judgments, and conclusions about the situation in some areas of the political system. Similarly, the implementation of constitutional decisions is being analyzed, as well as their possible deficiencies and the need to develop new decisions.

[Question] How do the working groups operate? Is there the impression that officials are mostly engaged in analysis?

[Answer] This type of undertaking would be difficult to do without specialized personnel whose primary task is to help and facilitate work in the technical sense. I would say that the seriousness of the problems which have been stated also assumes much greater help of this kind than is generally made available to the federal councils. Not only in this undertaking. Moreover, people from republic and provincial councils, political and professional workers from republics, provinces, and the Federation, are engaged at this time on the critical analysis itself. Meetings of the Federal Social Council and working groups were preceded by meetings of similar organs in republics and provinces. The production of these reports was preceded by a number of different consultations, and there have been discussions in organizations of associated labor, and in party and other social-political organizations. In addition, various scholarly and professional organizations and associations have been included. Round tables have been held, as well as public discussions, and debates. The press has actively followed this matter. On the whole, there have been many stimulating ideas. It is probable that the activity will get even livelier once the reports are completed.

[Question] When will that be?

[Answer] Taking everything into consideration, by fall. Some will be done even earlier.

[Question] Increasingly, one hears the phrase "intensification of work in critical analysis" in forums. Does the term status quo, often mentioned recently, refer to the analysis about which we speak, and if so, to what extent?

[Answer] Undoubtedly, we began this undertaking with certain classifications, entrenched positions. It seems to me that to a great extent this was provoked by the first plan of analysis, by its deficiencies. When the final version of the plan was completed, these classifications were overcome. The most important thing is that an aura of inviolability not be given to the existing decisions. If it appears that something must be changed, then

it will be changed. However, some trace of earlier differences have still remained in evaluating facts which have been obtained. For some, these facts are reason to insist on existing decisions, and for others they are reason to add on to these decisions or to seek new ones. Doubtlessly, more reconciliation and work are necessary here, but one should expect that disputes will be resolved once all the facts mesh together into the system. This will be possible when all work groups have finished their work and when an analysis of all segments has been examined and agreed upon. Then one will be able to say who is for the status quo and who is for further change. Moreover, the status quo would mean preserving in the system all that which now contributes to its ineffectiveness, and a critical analysis of the functioning of the political system would be a matter of eliminating systemic obstructions in carrying out the program of economic stabilization.

[Question] One gets the impression that in the analysis which has taken place up to now--that is, during its early phase--political words, political evaluations of facts, have been intermixed. Doesn't this pose a large risk concerning the outcome of the analysis?

[Answer] The question of changing certain decisions in the political system is above all a political question, and the political approach cannot be excluded here. It must always exist and it does exist. However, it must be scientifically based. There are also approaches which are nakedly political and lacking in principles. There are quite a few of them.

However, people who are oriented in a revolutionary, democratic, and self-management manner seek Marxist analysis, analysis which is critical and scientifically based.

[Question] Concerning which questions are there already "differences in the interpretation of facts" at this time?

[Answer] One area in the center of interest, for example, is the great dissatisfaction with the work of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly. Everyone agrees as to the reasons-- there is no corresponding connection with the delegate base-- but large differences exist as to how this problem should be solved. At present these differences also extend to evaluations of the electoral system. The circle of differences is expanding and it may take on the significance of a different ideological and theoretical approach to the nature of the political and electoral system under self-management and delegate decision-making conditions.

[Question] What is the significance of the fact that approximately 70 delegates of the Chamber -- or one-third of its membership--are on the payroll of the SFRY Assembly?

[Answer] During the 1970's we said that delegates were neither members of a social democratic parliament nor bureaucratic professionals. We imagined that the delegate system would bring a revolution in the de-professionalization of politics. There was apparently a lot of idealism in this notion. It is hard for a person today to be able to work eight

hours as well as perform some very important social functions in addition to his job, but it is obvious that this fact merits great attention. In making our analysis, we must see where, by inertia or under the pressure of certain other interests, we have brought in professionals.

[Question] I'm talking about professionals who hold one mandate in an executive body, even in the Assembly mentioned above, hold a second one in the Federal Chamber, a third one in some republic executive institution...

[Answer] This is actually a question which is rather fashionable now, quite suitable for a demagogic response and for gaining the sympathy of a certain level of reader. It is not so important to me how long someone had a mandate somewhere, whether he goes from function to function, but how he manages the job with which he was entrusted. To make this kind of analysis, and to approach things in this way, is more difficult than making a frontal attack on a social phenomenon which is unavoidable. One should not underestimate politics. We strive to socialize it, but this is not, however, a sphere in which arbitrary actions predominate, nor can it be conducted by an average awareness. Will alone is not enough for performing political function. Overstatements concerning this are not far from being quasi-democratic. The dying out of government, politics, political function is a process, and so it is with the de-professionalization of political work, changes of function, and succession. The working class cannot rid itself of government overnight, not even the professional performance of state and political functions. What is indisputable and what we must insist upon is the transformation of political function. It must become less and less the function of power and governing, and thus, of privilege. It must become less and less a political function, and more and more one that is social. It must satisfy one social need to the same extent it satisfies another.

And this means that regarding the election of officials, the evaluation of their work, and their assignment, the decisions are made by those whose needs they satisfy. This is, of course, something completely different than privileged cadre politics. And there is privilege, even quite a bit of it, which often results in frightening decisions.

[Question] From where do conflicts over certain ideas for changing the electoral system, already apparent, arise? Demands are heard for direct elections and a greater number of candidates...

[Answer] To a great extent from ignorance, but not even an interest which relies on so-called ideological oblivion should be ignored. One must be reminded of all the reasons for introducing the delegate system, as well as the electoral system which is adapted to it. We wanted to make it possible for the delegate system to be a real statement for the interests of working people, their direct democratic means of confrontation and synthesis. But this was to be for working people who are associated and organized in a self-management manner, and not for abstruse individuals organized into a so-called electoral body which exists only during elections.

In our system, it is a question of associations of working people in organizations of associated labor, in local and other self-management communities, in which their interests and needs are satisfied. Their delegations serve this purpose for them, which are the key links in expressing and coordinating their interests. For the sake of rationality, they choose delegates who can be permanent and changeable. This is something completely different than indirect and direct elections. And what do we do? We reduce the delegate and electoral system to the delegates and completely ignore, whether consciously or unconsciously, the delegation and its delegate base, their connections through which the working person, the self-management person, should return to himself that social and political power of which direct and indirect elections have deprived him...

[Question] But, the delegation today is not an active factor in the political system?

[Answer] This is true, but it is precisely because it has been neglected. And instead of working to strengthen it, we will virtually abolish it by demanding direct elections. In reality, we are giving in to the pressures of quasi-democrats and liberals who are for the restoration of bourgeois parliamentarism. I think that talk about one or more candidates has been imposed upon us because of the weakness of current cadre policy. We do not proceed from genuine arguments and criteria when we support or dispute someone. We play hide-and-seek. We are opportunists and pragmatists, but above all, opportunists...

[Question] Can someone for whom an election is guaranteed also be an opportunist according to need? It is said that it is most important at this time in our system to insure the responsibility of the people in authority, and that this is easiest to achieve by the corresponding electoral system?

[Answer] And someone whose election is not, as you say, guaranteed, can also be an opportunist according to need. Concerning the connections between the electoral system and responsibility, I think that people have gone too far with this. The weaknesses about which I spoke are the cause of demands that we return to outmoded forms of electoral processes, and this is not a solution.

[Question] How much truth is there in the assertion that there are elements in our concept of a political system which benefit the individual interests of federal components?

[Answer] It is completely true. I don't know why they would be in the federation if they could not satisfy their individual interests and this in order to benefit everyone. This is one thing, and the satisfaction of this individual interest to the detriment of joint interests is something else. This is what one should distinguish. We have an original model of a federation. It is based on the formula that republics and provinces are responsible for their own development and for the development of the federation. True, republics and provinces are burdened with obligations,

especially in the face of current difficulties. Although there would still be this burden even at a higher level of material development and equilibrium. Up to the present, to be honest, republics and provinces have sometimes turned more to themselves than to the federation, to cooperation, and to joint interests, and for this reason they must both pass temporary measures as well as take other actions.

[Question] To what extent does the system make it possible for republics and provinces "sometimes to turn more to themselves"?

[Answer] In principle, the system does not make this possible. But it is obvious that something has not been the way it was supposed to be. For example, concerning certain questions in the federation, decisions are made by consensus, and concerning others by a qualified and democratic majority. In practice, however, the disturbed relationship between these two forms of decision-making favors the consensus. This means that one should not change the system regarding this matter, but the practice, which is not a consequence of the weakness of the system but of relations of power in society. To be more precise, it is the consequence of the ideological and political concurrence of circumstances of these relations. Thus, during the last decade all efforts in developing the constitutional and political system have taken place under conditions of unfavorable power relationships for associated labor.

Even today, the functioning of the system is considerably burdened by competition between decentralized etatism and federal centralism. These are the relational causes of deformation in the constitutional concept of many institutions and of deviations from the Constitution.

[Question] Are problems in executing, let us say, federal laws, connected with the system?

[Answer] There is, in fact, a certain kind of diminution of the value of the delegate-assembly structure in the implementation of policy. Administrative organs, let us say, evaluate whether or not it is appropriate from the point of view of one or another partial interest to carry out this or that law. This is the essence of a special kind of degradation of constitutionality and law, in going over-board in setting norms, in an inflation of laws which are passed for the sake of implementing laws which have already been passed. One should say that in this respect the legal system contains some decisions which almost border on anarchism. The Federal Executive Council, let us say, can warn republic and province organs not to put certain federal laws into effect, and judging by everything, that is all. Is it enough?

[Question] It seems that you are angry at etatism. But how can this "competition between decentralized etatism and federal centralism" be resolved in favor of self-management?

[Answer] Both etatist alternatives-- decentralized and centralized--exist. Redistributing the prerogatives of decentralized etatism to the advantage

of the federal is not a self-management solution to our problems. We need to pass from a formulated criticism of etatism to a situation in which we are finding solutions which will lead to neutralizing, reducing, and finally, to eliminating its power. At this time, at this stage, etatism is the most powerful disintegrative factor in our society. It is the strongest obstacle to self-management. It leads to divisions, it fetters initiative of self-management individuals, it also opens the way for the restoration of bourgeois autarchy and the anarchy of nationalism and chauvinism. Etatism has significantly obstructed the functioning of the socialist self-management political system and has turned it into a facade. We must be aware of this now when in the process of critical analysis we seek a rational center which exists in all complex events, when we perceive that a certain kind of restoration of state-property capital has been in process for a prolonged period of time in our country. This is why the contradiction between etatism and self-management is intensifying. Chaotic etatism, of course. Associated labor has not achieved the power which the Constitution intended for it to have. Instead of this happening, centers of etatist power in the republics and provinces have formed. Other phantoms of the past go along with this as well--the small-personal, and the group-property ownership division of social property in material relationships, and the aspirations for restoring bourgeois parliamentarism with representative etatism in the political area.

[Question] How does the "subjective factor" enter into all of this?

[Answer] Here we are mostly marking time. We are reviewing several really excellent and precise theses such as one which says that the LCY is not a force which is above and beyond the system, but an internal driving and unifying force. But this can become just a slogan if we do not put this thesis into operation with an effective method and substance of work. The LCY--its executive-political organs--are burdened by practical duties.

They operate in conjunction with authority and technocracy, and the membership is still inactive. This is why the party has become bureaucratic, and why it is necessary to pay attention to the statement that the power of the party to mobilize and to influence the direction of social development has been reduced. In this situation, the party can easily submit to etatism, which, we have seen, diminishes the value of the efforts and results of the worker-delegate structure, removes the working class from the scene as an active and subjective factor in socialism. That is why it is good that an examination of the situation in the party has now begun. It is good that the membership itself, with the organs, especially after the last meeting of the LCY Central Committee, is demonstrating great initiative in this regard.

[Question] How will the critical analysis of the political system proceed from here?

[Answer] One should not be an optimist and think that everything will go smoothly. There is something else in question besides interests and habits.

Much deeper considerations are necessary. For all this we need forms of more intensive work--collective meetings, authoritative working groups... groups of experts which will form some alternatives and perfect them in the form of standards.

[Question] Will there be many new forms?

[Answer] No. We do not need a general revision of the whole political system. Our present political system is a natural superstructure for the tendencies in the socialist development of our society. But we must strengthen these tendencies with the system. We must break up the etatist obstruction of our political system with systemic changes. Speaking in general theoretical terms, the main thing in the sphere of the political system is to find a way to free labor further from etatist intervention. Because, through etatist intervention, say by the regulation of conditions of economic function over associated labor, and in general in material relationships, social-property monopoly and capital is restored. And this is the main cause of stagnation of self-management. That is why our basic criteria in the approach to every institution of the political system must be in finding out how and to what extent they serve to defend the basic production relationship, to what extent they facilitate the democratic coordination of interests of the working class without etatist intervention, to what extent decision-making is rational and effective.

By various referendums and meetings we have almost advanced to the point of anarchy and the impossibility of producing and carrying on economically. Our political decision-making process is very expensive and through over-organization has become disorganized.

[Question] From where is it practical to begin?

[Answer] Directly from the basic social organizations. The way we worked during the 1970's with the so-called workers' amendments. Here, in the very base, in basic organizations of associated labor, in associated labor as a whole, we must put things in order and examine things. Then, we must examine the authority of self-management interest communities over them, and go farther to the opstina, the province, the republic, and the Federation. It is most important to increase the responsibility of republics and provinces for the development of the Federation, to create a more responsible relationship to the situation in the Federation. All changes in the Federation must proceed from the process of strengthening and developing further the equality of peoples and nationalities, and from the process of development of socialist self-management relations and the interests of the working class. The interests of associated labor as a whole must attain greater power within the Federation.

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